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THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

SINDH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA
AND
PROF. D. R. MAKAND

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

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پاران ايم ايڇ پنهور انسٽيٽيوٽ آف سنڌ اسٽڊيز، ڇامشورو.
Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

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CONTENTS.

		PAGES.
1.	Annual Report and Accounts of the Society 1942. Office Bearers of the Society for 1943—44	307—312
2.	Criminal Tribes in Sind, by N. M. Billimoria	313—325
3.	The Indian Army, by Major Donovan Jackson.	326—328
4.	Prof. Hodiwala's comments on Tarikh-i-Masumi	329—349
5.	Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit by H. T. Sorley C.I.E., D. Litt. reviewed by P. R. Cadell ..	350—353
6.	General John Jacob's charger "Messenger," by Mrs. Sidney Ralli (with an illustration). ..	354—355
7.	A note on the Sindhi Alphabet by Zaarin Qulam	356—358
8.	Inundation of the Indus, taken from the lips of an eye-witness, A. D. 1842. ..	359—360
9.	Census Reports of Sind for the years 1931 and 1941—a comparison, by N. M. Billimoria ..	361—387
10.	Contents of Vols. V and VI. of the Society ..	388—392
11.	The Sind Battles, 1843 Hyderabad, Pir Ari and Shadadpur, by H. T. Lambrick, I. C. S. ..	393—438

SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS.

1942.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held in the D. J. Sind College (New Building) Karachi on

Thursday the 18th March 1943 at 7-15 p.m.

AGENDA.

1. To receive the Report of the Council of Management for the year 1942.

2. To pass audited accounts for 1942.

3. To elect Office-Bearers to serve on the Council of Management.

4. To transact such other business as may be brought before the meeting with the permission of the Chairman.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.

Karachi,
1st February, 1943.

A. B. ADVANI,
Hon. Joint Secretary.

SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Honorary Secretaries take pleasure in submitting the following Annual Report and Statement of Audited Accounts for the year ending the 31st December 1942.

1. The Annual General Meeting of the Sind Historical Society was held at the D. J. Sind Arts College (New Building) Karachi on Wednesday, the 25th February, 1942, at 6-30 p.m. when Mr. H. T. Lambrick presided.

1-A. Election of the Office-Bearers for the year 1942-43 resulted in the President, Vice-President, Hon. Secretaries, Librarian and Hon. Auditor, and the members of the Managing Committee being re-elected, with the addition of Mr. T. S. Thadani on the Managing Committee.

2. During the year under report 10 monthly meetings were held when the following papers were read. The attendance at these meetings was generally disappointing.

1. The Pirates on the N. W. Coast of India .. .. B.D. Mirchandani, 29-1-1942
2. The British Adventurers in Sind, 1799 .. .. .. C. L. Marivalla. 27-3-1942
3. Indian History Congress 5th Session, 1941, Hyderabad Deccan, The Osmania University, and Ellora and Ajanta Caves .. .. N. M. Billimoria. 30-4-42.
4. Akbar and his connection with Sind .. .. C.L. Marivalla. 28-5-42.
5. The Sumra & Summa Dynasties in Sind .. ..N. M. Billimoria. 25-6-42.
6. Travel and Treaty in Sind..C. L. Marivalla.
7. Amateur excursions in Archaeology Lower Sind, 1941 H. T. Lambrick. 27-8-42.
8. Disastrous consequences of severe earthquake felt on frontier of Upper Sind in January 1852 and Overflow of the Indus which endangered Shikarpur, and Jacobabad in 1861 ..N. M. Billimoria. 24-9-42.
9. The Mirs and the Indus Tolls .. .. ..H. T. Lambrick. 22-10-42.
10. The Indian Navy, its activities in Sind and the adjacent coasts, 1614-1863 ..Commander R. D. Merriman, R.I.N., 16-12-42.

3. At the end of the year 65 members were on the roll; two of our most active members have unfortunately left Karachi, Commander Merriman for England, while Mr. A. B. Advani has proceeded to Lahore as Senior Instructor, A. R. P.

Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak, J.P., F.R.G.S., has become a life-member of our Society. We wish other members would follow this good example, as in these hard times the fee of Rs. 100 is a most welcome addition to our funds!

4. We are grateful to H. E. Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind for his handsome donation to the Society of Rs. 250, also to Sir Patrick Cadell for remembering us though he is far away.

The Sind Government has kindly given us a grant of Rs. 300. We would respectfully urge that the quality of the work done by our Society might well be recognized by a recurring Government grant. Our accounts at present show a small credit balance but we have still to pay a large printing bill to the Press for the Miani Centenary number of the Journal, which is in the Press.

5. The Fourth Centenary of the birth of Emperor Akbar was celebrated under the joint auspices of the Young Men's Zoroastrian Society and the Sind Historical Society on Wednesday the 16th December 1942, when Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak, J.P., F.R.G.S., presided, at the Khalikdina Hall, Karachi.

At the outset the President read out a message sent by His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind and a telegram from the President, Mr. H.T. Lambrick, who was unable to be present. Shams-ul-Ullema Dr. Dastur M. N. Dhalla addressed the meeting and concluded his speech by adding that Akbar not only was one of the most illustrious kings in the world but he is remembered even to this day as an apostle of religious and racial unity. In his emphasis on the unity of religions, Akbar anticipated the work of the Chicago Congress of Faiths in 1893. He exhorted the audience to sink or sail together and think of one federation, one people, one nation and one motherland.

Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak dwelt at length on Akbar's expeditions as a conqueror and commended his greatness as warrior and a military leader, also as a statesman and administrator.

Mr. P. N. V. Rao, Mr. I. I. Kazi and Mir Ayub Khan paid glowing tributes to King Akbar's work in bringing about unity among different religions and races.

The function was interspersed with songs and music and Principal Bodas gave a special song which was a favourite *rag* of Tansen the famous musician of Akbar's Darbar.

6. The President of our Society, Mr. Lambrick tendered the congratulations of Society to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the auspicious occasion of its Silver Jubilee, which was celebrated on the 4th and 5th of January 1943, at Poona.

7. Our thanks are due to Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A., PH. D., Dean of Arts Faculty, D. J. Sind College, Karachi, for allotting to us rooms in the College for holding our monthly meetings etc. and to Khan Saheb Jamsetji S. Sethna for auditing the accounts of the Society.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.
A. B. ADVANI,
Hon. Joint Secretary.

KARACHI,
1st February, 1943.

Statement of Accounts of the Sind Historical Society for the year ending the 31st December 1942.

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	As.	p.	EXPENDITURE.	Rs.	As.	p.
Balance in Bank	24	2	0	Pay of Peon	58	0	0
Cash in hand	158	1	0	Advertising charges	6	6	0
Subscriptions	318	0	0	Postage	60	0	0
Life Membership Subscription ..	100	0	0	Stationery & Printing of Monthly Notices	32	8	0
Sale of Journal	1	8	0	Purchase of Books	16	0	0
Donation from H. E. Sir Hugh Dow Governor of Sind	250	0	0	Printing Charges of Journals ..	534	10	0
Donation from Sir Patrick Cadell ..	10	0	0	Bank charges	2	0	0
Grant from the Sind Govt.	300	0	0	Miscellaneous charges	63	0	0
Sale of Mss. of Burton's Races ..	20	0	0	Balance in Bank	239	15	6
				Balance in hand	169	4	0
Grand Total ..	1,181	11	0	Grand Total ..	1,181	11	6

Examined and found correct.
JAMSETJI S. SETHNA,
Hon. Auditor.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.

26th February, 1943.

At the Annual General Body Meeting of the Society, held on the 18th March 1943, and the adjourned General Body Meeting held on the 28th April 1943, the following Office-Bearers were elected for the year 1943-44:—

President: Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak, J.P., F.R.G.S.

Vice-President: Mr. T. S. Thadani.

Hon. Secretary & Treasurer: Mr. N. M. Billimoria.

Hon. Jt. Secretary & Librarian: Mr. C. L. Mariwalla, B.A.

Members of the Managing Committee: Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A., Ph. D., Dr. A. Duarte, M.A., D. LITT.; Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. A. P. LeMesurier, I.C.S., Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S.

Hon. Auditor: K. S. Jamsetji Sethna.

CRIMINAL TRIBES IN SIND.

By N. M. Billimoria.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society, on 24th June,* 1943).

Before I speak about the Criminal Tribes of Sind, I may mention the considerable work has been done on Tribes and Castes of the Bombay Presidency by R. E. Enthoven in his "Tribes and Castes in Bombay" published in 1920. The work is strong on the sociological side but has not done on anthropological and scientific side.

As regards Muslim Tribes in Sind Aitken's Gazetteer is very superficial, inadequate, and inaccurate, and Hughes Gazetteer does not supply the deficiencies. Ansari's short sketch of the Musalman races in Sind is said to be not depended on.

Mr. Sorley was the Superintendent of Census for the Bombay Presidency for census operations during 1931. He admits that as regards Muslim Tribes he was assisted by Mr. Ceverton who was for a long time in Sind, and who had found over 900 identifiable tribes of Sind.

As for Sind Hindus Mr. Sorley writes that "it is quite certain however that no one will ever write anything really valuable, who has not himself personal experience of Sind, a scientific and practical knowledge of the Sindhi language and a training as a scholar and anthropologist. About the Shah jo Risalo of Shah Abdul Latif he says that the poems will yield valuable results to the right type of enquirer and their existence must not be forgotten by those who wish to understand the history, traditions and composition of the people of Sind.

To obtain true knowledge of the tribes and castes is the work of several lifetimes, and Mr. Sorley recommends that in almost every case local enquiry and research by scholars are needed and learned societies in the Presidency have much with which to occupy their attention in arranging for this local enquiry and research.

As regards the Sind Muslim tribe names many difficulties exist; *viz.* 1, Orthographical; 2, nomenclature of tribes, subtribes, sects, clans, nukhs and paros; 3, religious discrimina-

tion, it is often very difficult to say in the case of Sind whether tribes ostensibly Hindu or Muslim are exclusively so; 4, confusion in respect of the "Pukka" Sindhi tribes called generally "Sammat" is inextricable.

Mr. Coverton has divided Sind tribes into ten main classes; 1, Baluch tribes; 2, Pathan Tribes; 3, Brahui tribes; 4, Servile Tribes of Baluchis and tribes of Jats or Serai Jats; 5, Tribes from the South West Punjab or "Serai"; 6, Sindhi tribes of Sammo, Jat, or Rajput origin, that is tribes that have always lived in Sind namely the Lower Indus Valley or in the Western desert on the borders of Sind. They may be said to be the "Pukka Sindhis" forming by far the largest proportion of the population of the province. Their language is Sindhi, described by Trumpp as a "pure Sanskritic language more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian vernaculars," and "much more closely related to the old Prakrit than the Marathi, Hindi, Punjabi, or Bengali of our days." 7, Occupational Tribes, including religious orders; 8, Tribes professing an origin from Arabia or Central Asia, other than already mentioned; 9, Miscellaneous Sindhi Tribes known to be neither Sammo, nor Jat nor Rajput, and also untraceable Sindhi tribes. 10, Tribes which have migrated to Sind from Cutch, Gujrat, Marwar, Rajputana, Malwa, and other parts of India.

If a tribe is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offence it is called a criminal Tribe. Government has established industrial, agricultural or reformatory settlements for such tribes. Such schools are established for children, and they are separated and removed from their parents, and placed in such schools. Various efforts have been made to wean some of these people from their vagrant and criminal life; chief among the non-official agencies is the Salvation Army, which has opened settlements in various places. Attempts are being made to settle other criminal tribes of Sind such as the Jagiranis, Khushks, Jokhias, and Kirias, who have long been a source of trouble to the public and the police. I need not mention the Hurs, about whom I have written long articles. They are a beaten and broken lot; their Pir has been hanged; his organisation has been broken; several of his men have been shot; hundreds are in the jail and in concentration camps.

I will try to describe briefly the criminal tribes in Sind, one by one. First I will take up the MAZARIS, who have played an important part in Indian History in the 19th century. It is a branch of the Domki tribe, and Mazar was their head; Mazari are also called Sherpota, which means descendants of a Sher, lion. Their chief stronghold was Rojhan, where their head Bahram Khan resided. They carried their depredations into Sind, Lahore and Bahawalpore territories. At the end of 1834 the Mazaris raided the Sikh Posts near Multan and carried off considerable property from Mithankot and Amarkot (This place is near Multan and not Omerkot where Akbar was born.) The Ameers of Sind sent an agent offering to make good the loss suffered from their depredations. The Sikh Dewan Sawan Mal insisted on the surrender of Bahram on pain of invasion of Rojhan. The Sindhis thereupon began to make preparations to meet the attack and collected a force of 4,000 men at Rojhan. About July 1834 the Sikh forces conquered Dera Ismail Khan. The Maharaja Ranjitsing alleged that the raids of the Mazaris were incited by the Ameers of Sind and excused himself for his contemplated invasion of Sind on grounds of self-defence. Ranjitsing's foreign policy was an intense desire to conquer Sind. After the conquest of Dera-Ismailkhan a large Sikh army was ready on the bank of the Indus to engage with the Sindhis. But the British intervened at his juncture and prevented the clash. The Mazaris not only disturbed the peace of the Sikh dominions but incurred the displeasure of the British for interfering in their scheme of navigation. A writer concludes: "had the Mazaris behaved and co-operated with the Ameers in keeping peace instead of adding to their embarrassment, Sind might perhaps have been on a different political footing today."

JATHUWIS.

The descendants of Jato, the daughter of Jalal Khan, are known as the JATOI tribe. They are a small Beluchi tribe inhabiting the tract of country immediately to the east of Shikarpur and extends eastwards to the Indus and the confines of the Burdikar on the north. The Sind Canal bounds the Jatoi country to the south. Some of this tribe are found in Kachhi at Sanni. The Jatoi were a troublesome and predatory tribe, but have been much restrained by the Khairpur State.

BURDIS.

Descendants of Mir Ali, second son of Jalal Khan, mentioned just above. All the Burdi, or corruptly called, Buledai

tribes are descended from Sundar and Haji. The term Buledai is derived from "Bull Dehi" meaning residents of deh Bulo in which the first parent of the Buledais settled in Kalat territory. Bardikar in Upper Sind, where the Burdis reside, extends in N. E. direction to the edge of the desert, and joins the Jatoi country to the south. The Burdis have among their sub-divisions some notorious plunderers, who formerly infested the whole of Upper Sind. They are a numerous and warlike tribe, at deadly feud with the Mazaris and Bugtis. Burdikar is a productive tract of country as the Begari Canal passes through from E. to W. and affords full scope to irrigation. The principal town is Jhall, though the chief lives at Shirgarh.

BUGTIS.

A party of the Baloch settled in a locality called Bug on the border of Persia in Kaich Makran. They were called Bugti, meaning old residents of Bug, when they emigrated and settled in their present Bugti country. Some Baloch songs show that on one occasion a Burdi called Bugti a slave, when the Bugti repudiated the charge in the following couplet:

يـگ مني ڏيه الڪه نامي
مان غلام ته واڙه تهامي

Translation of these lines is : Bug is my native place and it is the name of my country; if I am a slave who is my master? The Burdi could not reply and the charge failed.

Another account of the origin is Bug the name of a Pathan and "thi" a servant, the whole term meaning "Bug's servant." By corruption the expression became "Bugti" and by association with Baloch tribes the tribe became a Baloch tribe. A popular account says that a great ancestor of the Bugtis belonged to Rahejo or Rahuja, a Sindhi tribe, and by association with the Baloch and settlement in the Bugti hills his descendants became Bugti Baloch.

The Bugti hills form the southern extremity of the range in E. Kachhi. The Bugtis were a completely predatory tribe, being connected with the Mazaris and gave shelter to the marauders in the plains. Their principal town is Deyra. The regular occupation of the whole tribe was plunder; every man of the tribe was a robber. The connection of the

Bugtis with the British commenced in 1839. The predatory tribes of Kutchee had caused such loss to British convoys and rendered communication with the British army in Afghanistan so dangerous and difficult that a force was sent in October 1839 under the command of Major Billamore to reduce the robber tribes by force. The Bugtis escaped to the Hills; thither they were followed by Major Billamore's detachment. The Bugtis were twice signally defeated with great loss; their chief, Beebruck was captured and sent prisoner to Sind; their town of Deyra was taken and plundered; Major Billamore's force remained in the hills three months. Taking advantage of the removal of the Dombkees and Jakranees from the plains of Kutchee, the plundering tribes under the leadership of Beejarkhan Doombkee from the year 1843 completely laid waste the whole border country of Sind up to the walls of Shikarpur and Larkana.

In January 1845 Sir Charles Napier proceeded with a British army accompanied by Mir Ali Morad to attack and reduce the plundering tribes of Kutchee. Captain Jacob induced the Murrees to assist Sir Charles Napier. In December 1846 the Bugtis assembled their whole force and looted the country at their leisure as far as Shikarpur. The Sind Irregular Horse was sent after them in 1847 from Hyderabad. In October 1847 Lieut. Merewether signally punished them. The Bugtis with their families in large number settled near Larkana.

The tribe being completely broken, some of them were allowed to return to the hills in October 1851. Some of their best men were afterwards taken into British service.

THE MARI TRIBE.

The Mari is a branch of the Rind tribe, and Mari was the name of their great ancestor. The tribe is divided into four branches, one of them is TALPUR. The Amirs of Sind are said to be Talpur Baloch.

The Mari hills lie North of Phulaji. The country of the Maris extends from the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass, on the west, to the Bugti and Khetranee territory on the east, about 100 miles, and from Surtoff on the south to the Afghan territory on the north, a distance of about 80 miles. The Nara river and a tributary of Narra called Lar, and Lharee, run through the Murree country. Their chief town is Kahun. The habits

of the Murrees are altogether predatory; they plunder their neighbours on all sides. They infest the Bolan and attempt to rob the kafilas passing. They were continually making predatory inroads on the more wealthy and peaceful tribes of Afghans around them, especially the Khetranees and generally fight with the Bhugtees and Kujjuks. When the warlike Doombkees and Jekranees were removed from Kutchee in 1845, the Murrees plundered and laid waste the whole province of Kutchee. They frequently also plundered in the Punjab districts south of Mithenkot. The Murees first came in contact with the British on the same occasion as did the Bhoogtees, as mentioned above. When Major Billamore's force was in their hill, the Murees entirely deserted Kahun, and retired with their families and property to the northern part of their country. The British force left the hills in February 1840, and a detachment under Major Brown was sent in April of the same year to occupy the town of Kahun. In January 1845 Sir Charles Napier, the Governor of Sind proceeded to reduce the plundering tribes of Kutchee to obedience. The Murees were greatly alarmed at the proceedings of Sir Charles Napier. Their chiefs were persuaded to wait on Captain Jacob at Lharee, and they waited upon Sir Charles Napier at Deyra and cooperated with him against the Doombkees and Jekranees. The Murrees were treated with kindness.

They abstained for long from outrages on the British border, till instigated by Dewan Mulraj of Multan in 1849 attempted to loot the British territory in Sind; in April 1849 their chief Gool Gawur attacked the British post at Kushmore. The assailants suffered heavy loss. This was their last attempt on the British territory in Sind.

According to Tuhfatulkiram one of the descendants of Abdul Rahim by name Harun had fifty sons from his seven wives. Some state that Harun had only three sons, the eldest was Jalalkhan, whose eldest was Rind. Mir Chakarkhan, the head of the Baloch tribe was a descendant of Rind; he came from Makran and settled first in Balochistan and afterwards went to the Punjab where he died. From him are descended directly, 1, The Rind; 2, The Dombki; 3, The Jakhranis; and 4, The Laghari. In the neighbourhood of Jacobabad, Sir Charles Napier settled three tribes in jagirs, the Jakhranis at Janidaro; the Dombkis in Rindwahi, and the Ramdanis and Mundranis at Nawazo. These jagirs were

given to the whole tribe rent free; the jagir is held on the condition that the tribe is loyal and well-behaved and renders assistance in the arrest of raiders and offenders.

THE DOMBKI TRIBE.

This tribe is said to have derived its name through two sources; Dom was the name of a nai (a hill torrent channel) in Kalat territory, on the banks of which the ancestor of this tribe lived; hence their name. Another account says that Mir Chakarkhan, mentioned above, married a Dom's daughter (a langha or drummer) and his descendants from that wife are called Dombki. One day a barber came to Mir Chakar and showed a razor which had the effect of destroying the roots of hair. Only a Dom undertook to give a trial on his daughter's head provided Mir Chakar agreed to marry the girl if she remained bald. Mir Chakar consented to the arrangement and had to marry the girl for she remained bald during her lifetime. Most of the Dumbkis are found in the Larkana, Sukkur and Hyderabad Districts.

THE JAKHRANI TRIBE.

This tribe derives its name from Jakhro, their first ancestor, descended from Mir Chakarkhan. Another account says that Jakhro was a member of the Sindhi Abro tribe, and by association with Mir Chakarkhan his descendants became Jakhrani Baloch. Daryakhan an ancestor of the tribe was a welknown robber chief in the beginning of the British conquest of Sind, but afterwards he surrendered to Sir Charles Napier, who gave him a jagir at Janidaro in the Jacobabad District. He was suspected of treason during the 1857 mutiny; he was deported to Aden, where he died.

The most notorious of this Jakhrani clan as robbers were Durgikhan Jami, Rahmat and Turkali, any one of whose names was alone sufficient to spread terror throughout the surrounding country, so that they carried on their depredations with perfect impunity as far southward and westward as Larkana. The whole of Kachhi was completely at their mercy and no kafilah was formerly safe without an escort of Dumkis and Kakranis; in other words, without a tax as blackmail paid to those tribes. The Jakranis were well-mounted men. The natives of the country insist that no

party of Baluchis on a foray can be complete without a certain portion of Jakranis as guides over the desert tracts which intervene between Upper Sind and Kachhi.

Captain Postans states that he has always found the Jakranis the best guides in Kachhi, even along the whole of the western and northern extremity of the province.

I may state that there is a Criminal Tribes Settlement at Sukkur. At the end of March 1942 there were 65 inmates; 27 males, 18 females, and 20 children. They belonged to 21 criminal tribes.

The Criminal tribes Settlement Officer states that they are all criminal; 1, Bhanojo, 1 Khaskheli; 3, Khoso; 4, Mochi; 5, Kirio; 6, Islami; 7, Aradin; 8, Khatpar; 9, Gudaro; 10, Chandio; 11, Mari; 12, Khokhar; 13, Jagirani; 14, Rind; 15, Chacher; 16, Mazari; 17, Nizamani; 18, Teghani; 19, Jakhro; 20, Sambhal; 21, Attrani.

Out of these No. 12 Khokar are regarded variously as Rajputs and Jats in the Punjab. They are found on the Lower Indus, Sutlej, Chenab and Jhelum, especially in Jhelum and Shahpur. They settled rather early in the Punjab and their origin is somewhat obscure. In the Desert, where there are still Hindu Khokhar Rajputs, they are said to be a branch of Rathors. There is also a Chuhro section of the name. The Khokhars are widely dispersed in Sind but seem to be most numerous in the southern and south-eastern parts of Sind outside the desert.

THE KHOSA TRIBE.

The Khosa is a branch of the Rind tribe. A popular account says that Khosa is a corruption of the terms "Khoh-sagh"; khoh means a mountain and sag a dog. The khosas lived in a mountain and were notorious robbers. People robbed by them used to say that they were robbed by Kho-saghan—(dogs of the mountain), and gradually the expression changed to Khosagh, which in Sindhi became Khosa. The Khosas say that the correct term is Khoh-Sar, meaning residents of the mountain top, and that by a change became Khosa. Mr. Ansari states that they are also called Muhanas, as at one time Mir Chakar had to cross the river Indus while marching to Satgharo, and a section of

the Khosa tribe was turned into boatmen and plied the boats to Mir Chakar and his troops across. On this account they are in contempt called Muhanas by the other Baloch tribes.

THE SLAVE TRIBES.

During the Musalman rule in Sind, slavery was common, and slaves were bought and employed for domestic service. During the British rule the slave trade was prohibited and made penal; many slaves were liberated and formed themselves into a separate class of freemen. The principle of them are—

Gada, of impure blood; Gola, a slave and Khaskheli, a special attendant. I have mentioned this last class, as criminal, because in the statement of population in the Criminal Tribe Settlement at Sukkur in Sind, three Khaskheli inmates are shown.

I have come across a sketch of the Balooch Tribes on the Frontier, prepared by Major Goldney in 1847. The numbers in the margin show their estimated strength in fighting men in 1844.

JAKRANEES. (700). Originally located between Shahpoor and the Hills at "Sheerany"; they are considered the flower of the Mounted Belooches. During 1843 and 1844 their inroads were frequent and daring. In March 1845 the whole tribe was captured at Truckee and is now located at Ianeedera. Under the Meers the Jakrannees were for some time employed in guarding the N. Frontier at Goonia near Moobarickpoor; for this service they were authorised to levy an impost on each animal and each traveller passing their posts.

DOOMKIES (1,000). That division that adhere to their legitimate Chief Belooch Khan are still settled at Lehree; about 200 men under Bijar Khan seized and occupied Phoolagie for some years were forced to surrender at Truckee and are now settled between Khanghur and Janeedera under Jumal Khan. Bijar Khan a noted robber is in arrest at large with H.H. Meer Aly Morad. These people had at one time the post of Khangurh entrusted to them by the Meers and held a jageer in that neighbourhood. Their inroads in 1843 and 1844 were frequent.

RAMDANIES (300). Settled at Rojhan; they are a branch of the great Junialy family who are thickly settled in Scinde and on the frontiers, Rojhan, Khyrakee, Gurhy, Poonoo, etc. The

Ramdanies were associated with the Jakranies and Domkies in their inroads; and I attribute much of the difficulty we experienced in checking these forays, to their connection with the villagers at our frontier posts. Meer Mahomed Junualy of Khyratee Gurhee was arrested in July 1844 at my recommendation and my suspicions of him have since been confirmed. The Ramdanies are settled a little S.W. of Janeedera at Nemaza ke Gote under Soliman, their leader, who some 80 of his followers was taken at Truckee along with.

JUMALY MONDRANIES (100). Dingana Mondranee also captured at the same time with about 50 men; formerly settled at Mamool between Rojhan and Khungurh.

OMRANIES. Settled at Minoty and Tumboo have never assailed us as a tribe; some were in our service until lately for the conveyance of despatches across the Desert. Khan Mahomed is their Chief.

KAHARIS (250). Are a tribe calling themselves Syuds, a pretention not usually recognised. They are in British pay as horsemen and were restored to their ancient seats of Phoolajee and Chuttur on the capture of Bijarkhan and his people. One of the chief causes of annoyance given by us to the Jakranies and Domkies is asserted to be our retaining these Kahiris in our service and discharging the former who have stated to have asked "are jackals to be fed and wolves left to starve?"

JUTOEES. Live N. E. of Shikarpoor and are subjects of H. H. Meer Aly Morad. They did not openly pillage our provinces in distinct gangs but many joined in the depredations of the Boordee tribes; several Boordees were cut up by the 6th Irregular Cavalry on 23rd August, 1844, in company with a party of Boogties. Aly Sher Boordee was the first robber chief we caught in the campaign of 1845. Rammu, Piyara, Sher Mahomed Khan are also Boordees Robbers of note; Khyra another is now in prison in Khyrpoor.

KHOSAS are very numerous in Scinde; as border tribe they fringe the Mobarickpoor and Meerpoor districts N. of Shikarpoor. Kadir Bux their chief holds a jageer; his village is 4 miles S. of Shikarpoor. Dil Morad a leading man among the Khosas fled to the hills in 1844 was supposed to have given the information which led to the surprize of our grass cutters near Khanghur in June that year and was finally seized with a few followers

at Tuckkee being brought as prisoner to Scinde;he was pardoned and sent back to his farm by His Excellency the late Governor of Scinde.

MAZARIES. (1,800 to 2,000). In and about the confines of Kusmor and Seik Kojhan, they are numerous and troublesome. Dostally their chief having taken umbrage at the Seks in 1845-46 was directed by His Excellency to meet me with a view to his being located near the frontier; he went over to Meer Ally Morad and finally returned to the Seiks by whom he was fined and ultimately well received. I then with His Excellency's sanction removed all the squatters of this tribe from our lands. They are sad thieves but chiefly molest the Bhawalpoor people and our district of Jumsherad on the left bank of the Indus, whither they cross in boats or on inflated hides; Kamilshah a Syud is a notorious leader among their people. During the campaign of 1845 about 300 Mazaries joined the Meers camp as allies.

CHANDIA (10,000 to 12,000). Their country is S. and W. of Larkana. Arid and towards the hills dependant on rain water; they are arant thieves, but have never molested the British districts in large gangs. Waly Mahomed their chief has 50 horse still in British pay under the orders of the Frontier Officer; some are under the collector but the majority guard the post at Poonoo.

MUGSEES (2,000). Live across the desert at Thull or of Gundava. Ahmed Khan their chief is well disposed towards us; he and the Chandia chieftain assailed without success Phoolagee in September 1844; they joined His Excellency also early in 1845, but were not taken into the hills. Many Mugsees live about Kumbur and Waradpor of Larkhana and are reputed thieves.

BROHOOEES. Of the Khan of Khelat; have never molested us since the restoration of the young Khan, son of Mihrab slain by us at the capture of Khelat in 1839.

KETRANS. Live in the Seik territory E. of Boogtee mountains; have never pillaged British Scinde, but are rather a pacific clan. I observe two of these people however among the prisoners taken at Koonree on the 1st October 1847. Meer Hajji their chief is connected closely by marriage with Islamkhan Boogtie in concert with whom he has of late attacked the Murrees but with great discomfiture and loss on his part,

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MURREES. Hold the hill country N. and W. of the Boogtie mountains; in 1839 Kahun their capital was occupied by a British Detachment under Major Lewis Brown whose gallantry and good faith are still renowned among them. Up to 1841 we were alternately at peace and war with them. Major Clibborns, Walpole Clarkes and other untoward affairs took place with this tribe.

The object of occupying Kahun seems to have been the hope of communicating with the table land of Afghanistan without the risk and labour of ascending the Bolan Pass; there is undoubtedly a road but it is possible neither for guns nor heavily laden camels and Kahun was evacuated in the autumn of 1840. The Murrees are the most powerful tribe in the hills and have been our steadfast allies; they did not join us against the Boogties and others in 1845, but they refused the enemy an asylum and in so far aided to reduce them to extremities. Had they been inclined to cut them off from Trutchee it is most likely that the whole of the robber tribes would have been destroyed or reduced to surrender at discretion. Deen Mahomed is the present Murree Chief, son of Doda Murree who beat us at Nofoosk in September 1840.

BOORDEES (3,500). These have ever been formidable to the lowlanders. The Boordees to this day add a clause to the usual Muslim morning prayer begging "to be delivered that day from Boogtie marauders."

Deyra their capital was occupied by a British Detachment in 1839-40, it being on the high road to Kahun. Islamkhan is their acknowledged head, son of Bibruk, the intercepted correspondence with whom found a principal charge against the late Ameers of Scinde. In 1843 and 1844 they repeatedly plundered Upper Scinde and Boordika.

In 1845 their strength was broken 1st by the capture of Meer Hassa Nothering (Major Clibborns guide at Naffosk) and about 200 of his men at Truckee; these are now settled near Hyderabad; 2nd by the secession of Dulal Mashony who after the narrow escape of the enemy from Sir Charles at Shory withdrew from the confideracy with his people in disgust and alarm and settled himself among the Lasharies at Lalgarh in Mooltan; 3rd by the irresolute conduct of Islam Khan himself who withdrew for a space to his brother-in-law Meer Hajji Ketran leaving the chief control to Alumkhan Culpur, a bold bad man who plunged into

war with the Murrees usually with bad success—indeed including the 58 Mondaranies killed or taken by. Lt. Younghusband in July last, the 560 who fell in Lt. Merewether's affair of 1st October (inst.) and the various conflicts great and small of which I am cognizant since January 1845, I cannot estimate the number of Boogties killed below 1,000 and capt red at 500.

Prior to the presence of the British in Scinde the inroads of the Belooch hoards had become intolerable in so much that in some cases the Belooches were paid by the Meers to guard certain points against their brethren, in others posts were established at larger towns and Zamindars received a turban and a certain allowance of grain or more seldom of money, to keep on foot a proportion of matchlock men to protect their neighbourhood.

Thools or towers were erected around which the cattle were assembled at night and within these the peasantry took post and fired upon their assailants.

In 1817 Janeedera parts of Mobarickpoor, Meerpoor, Noshera, and Larkana were entirely abandoned owing to the vexations of these incessant inroads. The Meers province of Boordika was similarly deserted.

BOOKS CONSULTED.

1. Crime in India by S. M. Edwards.

2. Report on States and tribes connected with the frontier of Upper Sind by Major John Jacob.

3. Journal Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XIV, 1844, Account of the Baluchi and other tribes in Upper Sindh and Kachhi by Capt. Postans.

4. Gazetteer of the Province of Sind by E. H. A. Aitken.

5. Do. B. Vol. VII, Upper Sind Frontier District by J. W. Smyth.

6. A short sketch historical and traditional of the Musalman Races found in Sind by Sheikh Sadik Ali Sherali Ansari, 1901.

7. Mazaris of Sind by Mahomed Yasin, M.A., Archaeclogical Deptt., New Delhi. Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Vol. IV., No. 1.

The Times Literary Supplement Saturday, August 1, 1942.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

India's Army by Major Donovan Jackson (Invicta). Sampson Low. 10/6.

Major Jackson has performed the feat of including in one fat little volume an explanation of what the Indian Army is and how it has evolved, together with short histories of each unit. That is no small achievement which should be much appreciated by many readers, including those actively concerned in India's rapidly growing Army. Much of the book was originally written for a Calcutta newspaper, and that fact may account for the style of the book and the frequent digressions in the narrative, but popular articles of this kind should be accurate. On the first page Major Donovan says Clive "conceived the organization of sepoy battalions" which is to ignore the earlier French enterprise. At the end of the book he says that a volunteer force was first formed in the days of the Mutiny, which is to ignore the volunteers of the Napoleonic period. Those examples of hasty statements that may mislead the reader may be taken as warnings that the outline which Major Donovan has been at great pains to draw requires occasional correction. A feature of the book is the number of illustrations, some in very vivid colours and others in black and white wash, by the author. He is an expert on uniforms. But it's surprising to find him saying that none of the Provincial Bodyguards achieves the plain simplicity of the Viceroy's Bodyguard. He will not find that invidious comparison at all well received in Bombay.

The Times Literary Supplement, Saturday August 15, 1942.

INDIA'S ARMY.

Sir,—I venture to think that the notice in your issue of August 1, does not do full justice to Major Jackson's book. In a work which covers so many events and dates in a limited space, some small errors of fact are inevitable. Still more so is the omission of points which may be in themselves interesting. The three instances given by your reviewer do not, however, appear to be examples of such error or omission. He objects to the statement that Clive "conceived the organization of Sepoy battalions," as ignoring the earlier French enterprise. It is of course true the French had drilled the Indian Sepoy. So, in-

deed, had the Dutch in the previous century. I do not, however, know of any evidence that the French had formed their Sepoys into battalions. We are told that the English in Madras, five years before Clive's action in Bengal, formed their Sepoys into "companies after the French model." Nor am I aware of any evidence that the French put their Sepoys into the uniform of their European nationals, as Clive did when he clothed the Sepoy battalion in red.

The reviewer complains that the statement that a volunteer force of Europeans was first formed in the days of the Mutiny ignores the volunteers of the Napoleonic period. It is true that the British civilians were ready to serve in that as in previous times of crisis. In Bombay, however, this, in the Napoleonic period, chiefly took the very sensible form (considering the small number of European inhabitants) of raising local Indian battalions, paid for and officered by British civilians. The descent of one of these battalions, now the Royal Battalion of the Mahratta Light Infantry, and its association with the Bombay Volunteers, is fully given on another page of the book. Major Jackson after the passage objected to, goes on to show that he is referring to volunteer regiments organized on the same lines as units of the British Army.

Finally, it is difficult to see why the reviewer should think that the statement that the uniforms of the Provincial Bodyguards are, or were, less simple than that of the Viceroy's Body guard will not be well received in Bombay. It is not so long since that the supposedly greater effectiveness of the uniform of the Bombay Bodyguard was regarded with much satisfaction in an exalted circle in that city.

This little book contains so much good regimental history and so much of the romantic tradition of Eastern warfare that it might profitably be issued as part of his kit to every young officer, British and Indian, joining the Indian Army. The fact that it is written in simple and popular language by a serving soldier will not detract from its usefulness.

I am yours faithfully,

PATRICK CADELL.

Boars' Hill, Aug. 5.

Our reviewer writes:—Praise of a book on the Indian Army from Sir Patrick Cadell is praise indeed, for in my belief he is the

best authority on that subject. In this case he tempers my criticism and does that service very well; but, as he admits me to be atleast partly right in two out of the three instances he cites, it does not seem necessary to pursue the argument. I would urge that if Major Jackson's book is to be included in the kit of every young officer joining the Indian Army it should be somewhat simplified and the link between the army of today and that of the past should be stressed more than is the case.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Hon. Secretary Sind Historical Society acknowledges with thanks—

(1) Traces of Matriarchal civilization among the Koli Malaiyallis by O. R. Baron Ehrenfels. From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters. Vol. IX, 1943. Article No. 2.

(2) Mauryan Polity by V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar. Minerva series on Government. Pamphlet No. 3. Minerva Book Shop, Lahore. Price annas six.

STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY.

By Prof. S. H. HODIVALA.

TARIKH-I-MASUMI.

This is the last extract from Prof. Hodivala's Studies in Indo-Muslim History.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi, M.A. Ph.D. (Cantab) in his Administration of the Sultanite of Delhi (a book substantially the thesis approved for the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Cambridge) writes "The various English and French translations of Persian and Arabic authorities have been used with great caution; it is necessary to rely on the original texts in unravelling the technicalities of administration. Most of the translations, in any case, need editing. However, of a different nature is Professor Hodivala's learned commentary on Elliot and Dowson, which has unravelled many a knotty problem of Indo-Muslim History."

N. M. B.

Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., pages 212 to 252.

Page 216, l. 19. *Hamun carried on the government in the fort of Dahak and she deputed her brothers to govern Muhammad Tur and Thari.*

Thari is an exceedingly common place-name in Sind. Haig thinks that this Thari was on the right bank of the Western Puran about 6½ miles east by south of Muhabbat Dero. The change to Tur was, he surmises, 'due to the drying up of the river' (Indus Delta Country, 75). Elliot locates it somewhere near Badin, on the Gungro river about 40 miles further to the south (p. 404). 'Dero Mohobat' is marked in Constable 26 B.C. It is now in Haidarabad district. Thar, Thari, Thari, Thal, Thul mean 'mound' or 'old ruin' and any spot where there are vestiges of ancient occupation is indiscriminately so called in Sind. Dahak seems to be called Dirak in the Tarikh-i-Tahiri, where it is stated that Muhammad Tur was included in the paragana of Dirak. (p. 256). Elliot assures us that the ancient pargana of Dirak was represented in his time by the divisions of Chachgan and Badin on the borders of the Tharr or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bazar. (p. 403).

Page 222, 1.36. *Having got two small fine hooks he tied a silken line to them.*

This seems to be the rechauffe of a folk-tale which is preserved in the Tibetan Kah-yyur. The hero there also is a prince named Jivaka, the son of the King Bimbisara. He comes across in his wanderings, a man carrying a bundle of wood,whose bones and internal organs were visible. When asked the reason of his looking like a skeleton, he replied that he had been in that condition ever since he began to carry the bundle of wood. The prince purchases the bundle from himand finds in it a Mani-gem or talisman—which had the power when placed before any invalid, of revealing the nature of the internal malady, and illustrating him just as a lamp lights up the objects in a house. He then cures, by its means two men who had been suffering from an incurable headache by drawing out its cause—a centipede which had crept into their brains. (Tibetan Tales. Translated from the German of A. Schiefner by W. S. Ralston. pages 99-100, and 103).

The extraordinary mode of treatment said to have been adopted by Duda bears also a most curious resemblance to another circumstantially described by Ibn Khalliqan in his biographical notice of Hajjaj ibn Yusuf. That tyrant, he tells us, "was affected by a cancer in the stomach and he was cured by a physician who tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat. The string was drawn out after some hours,when a swarm of worms were found adhering to it." (Mc Guckin de Slane's Trans. 1,356).

Muhammad Awfi also speaks of the renowned physician Zakiarriya-i-Razi (Rhazes of the Mediaeval European authors) curing a patient of haematemesis by making him swallow some weeds called *Jama-i-Ghuk* (Lit. Frogs Robes). The leeches or worms adhering to the weeds were thus drawn out of the intestines (Nizamu-d-din, Introduction to the Jawami-al-Kikayat, I, XX. Story No. 1046, p. 184).

Page, 224, 1.8. *Malik Ratan also came out of the fort (Siwistan) with his force and the battle began...Malik Firoz and Ali Shah Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bakkar.*

There is no reference to these events in the Delhi historians, but M'asum's account is substantially corroborated by Ibn Batuta who passed through Sind in 713H. (1333-4 A.C.) He

says that some time before his arrival, Imadu-l-Mulk Sartiz, the governor of the province, had ruthlessly put down a tribal revolt which was centred round Sehwan. The rising was due to the nomination by Muhammad Tughlaq of a favourite Hindu accountant named Ratan as a castellan of Sehwan. The elevation of the mis-believer so exasperated the Samma chief Wunar (Unar) and a Musalman Amir named Qaisar that they combined together and attacked Ratan by night and slew him. Imadu-l-Mulk then came up on the scene to avenge and re-establish his master's outraged authority. Wunar fled and sought refuge with his tribe. Quisar made some resistance and after standing a siege in the fort of Sehwan for forty days capitulated on terms, but the terms were perfidiously violated and he and the other insurgents were decapitated, flayed alive or cut into pieces. (Defremery, III, 195-8; M. R. Haig, Ibn Batuta in Sind, J.R.A.S. XIX, part 3). Ibn Batuta has nothing to say about the subsequent course of events, but there was a recrudescence of the trouble which terminated in the alienation of Southern Sind from the empire of Delhi and the inauguration of Samma dominion in the province.

Page 225, 1.4. *After the death of Jam Unar, Juna, of the tribes of Summa received the title of Jam.*

Riverty (Mihran, 329-30) has pointed out that Masum's account of the Sammas is full of errors and inconsistencies. Here he states that Tamachi who succeeded Jam Juna was taken captive by Alau-al-din (who died in 715H), though the Sammas are known to have come into power only after 734H. He also asserts that Tamachi's son Khairu-d-din was sent back from Delhi and was the Jam who was called upon to surrender by Muhammad Tughlaq in 752 H, and that Babiniya, Khairu-d-din's son was the Jam who was carried off as a state prisoner to Delhi by Firuz Tughlaq. But in the Delhi section (which is re-produced in the Tuhfahtu-l-Kiram at page 341-2, Elliot) there is no reference to any Samma Jam either under Alau-d-din or Muhammad Tughlaq and the Jam who was taken captive by Foruz is called Khairu-d-din, upon whose death in Delhi, his son Juna is said to have been sent back to rule at Thattha. According to Shams-i-Siraj, the contemporary historian of Firuz, the Jam whom Firuz carried off to Delhi was the brother of Unar and Babiniya, the Jam's nephew and son of Umar was joint ruler. Shams states that the administration of the province was entrusted to the son of the Jam and Tamachi, the brother of Babiniya, after its annexation to the Empire of Delhi. When some time

afterwards, Tamachi rebelled, the Jam was allowed to return to Thattha to suppress the revolt. (Tarik-i-Firuz Shahi,254, 1.6 f.f.—Elliot, III, 322, 338).

A dynastic list of the Sammas, very similar to that given by Masum here, is found also in the Tabaqat-i-Akhbari, Nawal Kishore Press, 1292 A.H., page 635, Tarikh-i-Firishta(II, 318-32) and the Ain (Tr. II., 342). The names and regnal periods are not absolutely identical, but the four lists are all derived from one and the same source—the Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi of Husam Khan Gujarati—as the Tabaqat-i-Akbari candidlyadmits (635, 1.2). The initial date is no where stated and the discrepancies make it difficult to construct anything like an excellent chronology, but a fairly correct list can be made out on the bases of three or four fixed dates or epochs and two points of contact between the Provincial and Imperial History, which can be determined with tolerable certainty. These epochs or points are:—

Accession of Jam Umar	..736 H. (circa).
Accession of Fath Khan	..801 H. (Timur's invasion)
Accession of Nanda	..866 H.
Death of Nanda	..914 H.

The following series of dates can be then evolved by fitting these points into the framework of the names and regnal periods given in the lists:—

Umar	3 years	and 6 months.	736—740 H.
Juna	13 years		740—753 H.
Babaniya	15 years		753—768 H.
Tamachi	13 years	and some months.	768—781 H.
Salahuddin	11 years	and some months.	781—792 H.
Nizam-d-din	2 years	and a fraction.	792—794 H.
Ali Shir	7 years		794—801 H.
Karan	1½ days.		801 H.
Fath Khan	15 years	and some months.	801—817 H.
Tughlaq	28 years.		817—846 H.
Mubarak	3 days.		846 H.
Sikandar	1 year	and 6 months.	846—848 H.
Raidhan	8 years	and some months.	848—857 H.
Sanjar	8 years	and some months.	857—866 H.
Nanda	48 years.		866—914 H.
Firuz	12 (or 14) years.		914—927 H.

Page 225. 1.8. *These men crossed (the river Mihran) at the village of Talahti.*

This must be Talti, about 6 miles north of Sehwan. Prof. Hodivala refers to Elliot P. 309, 1.4(Tarkhan-nama). He learnt that an army was encamped at Thatta, four kos from Siwistan." A comparison with the Tarikh-i-Masumi from which the whole account is borrowed, shows that Thattha is a slip for 'Talti' which is 6 or 7 miles north of Sehwan and appears to have been on the left bank of the River (Kalichbeg, Vol. II, p. 64; Indus Delta Country, 86; and Mihran, 240 note).

On page 310 last line, there is another puzzling perversion of Talti which is written Thati. It is called 'Talahti' in another extract from Masum which is translated at 225 (Elliot)....." It is said to have been four kos from Sehwan.

Page 225, 1.16. *Ulugh Khan then sent Taj Kafuri and Tatar Khan to oppose Jam Juna in Sind.*

The whole passage is full of anachronisms, but Masum has, in this case as in that of Malik Ratan, stumbled by chance upon a part of the truth and got atleast one name correctly. Malik Taju-d-din Kafuri *was* Governor of Multan and Siwistan, during the last years of Alau-d-din Khalji (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Z. Barani, 323, 1.16). This man should not be confused with the better-known Malik Kafur-i-Hazar-dinari.

Page 226, 1.2. *Sultan Muhammad Shah (Tughlaq) died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar.*

Read 'Tatta' as in Malet and Kali hbeg, Vol. II, p. 43, and Elliot p. 342. Sin in line 5 is Sann, a town in Sehwan, eleven miles north of Manjhand and the same distance south of Amri (Hughes, Gazetteer, 696). It is about a hundred miles distant from Thattha and the Jam is said to have harassed the retreat of the Sultan and pursued him to that distance. (Indus Delta Country, 80) (Constable 26 B (b).

Page 226, 1.9. *The following story is told of one of the remarkable incidents in the life of this benevolent prince.*

Exactly the same story is told of Kabak or Kapak, the son of Dewa, the fifteenth Khan of the race of Chaghatai, the son of Chingiz, in an old history of the Mongols called *Shajratu-l-Atrak* (Tr. Miles, Ed. 1838, p. 369). The resemblance is so close that it is worth while citing the original. "One day (Kabak) was riding out for exercise with his servants and in a cave near

the road, he discovered a number of human bones. On seeing these, he pulled up his horse and remained in thought for some time and then said to his attendants, 'Do you know what these bones have been saying to me?" His attendants being surprised at the question, remained silent, when he, answering himself, said; 'they are the bones of men barbarously murdered, who cry to me for vengence.' He then....immediately summoned the *hazara* to whom the land appertained and ordered him to examine as to whom these bones belonged....It was discovered that three years previous, a *Karwaun* had arrived there from Khorasan, and that this tribe had murdered the whole of the persons composing it, and had seiged their property, and that some part was still in their possession. When this fact was established, the Khan ordered the murderers to be apprehended and the property collected and despatched by a messenger to the chief of Khorasan, that he might search for and produce the heirs of the murdered men. On their being found, they were sent to the Khan, who immediately delivered up the property with the murderers into their hands.

It is impossible to say that the two stories are not identical. Either Masum has lifted the tale from the *Shajrat* or both have pilfered it from some other source.

Page 226, 1.27. *Jam Babaniya.*

The name of this Jam has been a puzzle and a pitfall to the later epitomists and commentators. Tarikh-i-Firishta speaks of him as 'Mani the son of Juna' (II, 317-8); Tabaqat-i-Akbari as 'Manibha' (635, 1.3) and Abul Fazl as 'Banhatiya,' Ain-i-Akbari, II, 342). Raverty's impetuous assertiveness was responsible for the pronouncement that it was not a name at all, but an epithet or title, بانى ٹٹہ *i.e.* 'the founder of Thatta' (Mihran, 329n.) But this whimsical conjecture is put out of court by the fact that Babaniya is said by Masum, Muhammad Tahir, and others to have been the name not only of the father of Unar, the founder of the dynasty but also of that of its most renowned member, Nanda or Nizamu-d-din (Elliot, pp. 224, 273 and 275, and Malet, p. 47.)

The fact that 'Babaniya' is a corruption of 'Bamaniyo,' a name which occurs frequently among the ruling dynasties, not only of Sind, but of Kachh and Kathiawad. It was borne by a Thakor of Rajkot who ruled from 1675 to 1694 A.C. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Kathiawad, 632). The Rajkot Chiefs

are Jadeja Rajputs belonging to the same clan as the Raos of Kachh and Jams of Jamnagar. 'Bamaniyo' occurs also in the dynastic list of another Kathiawad State named Kotda Sangani, whose rulers as cadets of the ruling family of Gondal are also Jadejas. (Ibid, 521-522). A *Jam* Bamaniyoji was also the son of Jam Unad is said to have conquered Gumli and to have ruled in Kachh, also about the beginning of the 16th Christian century. (Ibid, 566). The name of a Badshah (or Jam) Bamaniyo also occurs in a widely-known Kathiawad folk-tale which is related at some length at 690 ibid.

Page 228, 1. *Sikandar, Karan, and Fath Khan, sons of Tamachi.*

According to Malet's translation of Masum's history, Sikandar and Karan only were the sons of Tamachi. Fath Khan was the son of Sikandar and this is the true relationship of the man. It is also stated in Dowson's own version (p. 229, 1.4), (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 636, 1.4) (Tarikh-i-Firishta, II, 318, 1.2 f.f.) also declare that Fath Khan was Sikandar's son and not Tamachi's.

Page 229, 1.15. *He sent* 3,000 *horses from the royal stables or the service of the Mirza.*

'Thirty thousand' in Malet, page 51, and this is the correct number. (Malfuzat-i-Timuri in Elliot p. 420, Vol. III; Zafarnama, III, 486).

Page 229, 1.16. "Bhatti and Ahan" also must be an error for "Bhatner and Ajodhan" both of which were sacked by Timur (Elliot, 487). There is a place called Bhattiwahan, but there is no reference to it in any of the histories of Timur's devastating inroad, and it did not lie on his route. It is said to have been in the Birun-i-Panjnad Sarkar of the Multan Suba (Ain, Tr. II, 331) and situated just midway between Multan and Aror (Raverty, Mihran, 248, note).

Page 229, 1.26. *Sayyid Abu-l-Lais.*

Malet page 51, calls him Abdul Ghais, غیس means 'abundance of wealth'. Budauni speaks frequently of Mir Abul Ghais Bukhari a warrior-saint of the reign of Akbar (II, 21, 245, 304, 347; Lowe, Tr. 14, 252, 313, 358). Kalichbeg reads Abu-l-Ghais (His. of Sind, II, p. 46) and this is most probably the correct form.

Mirza Pir Muhammad did not start for Delhi *after* Timur had captured Delhi, as is said here on line 2, page 230, but accompanied his grandfather to Delhi from Tulamba.

Page 230, 1.32. *On the sixth of Jumada-1 awwal in the year* 858 *H.* (*May* 1454 *A.D.*) *Jam Rai Dan came forth.*

This date is irreconcilable with the writer's own assertions. Masum has just stated, page 229, that Timur's invasion took place when Fath Khan was Jam. Fath Khan is said to have ruled for 15 years, and some months, his successor Tughlaq for 28, and Tughlaq's son Sikandar for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. Timur ravaged Hindustan in 801 H. If that calamity overtook Northern India in the first year of Fath Khan's reign, the accession of Raidhan must be put into 846H; into 845, if in the second; into 844 if in the third and so on.

But Raidhan himself is afterwards said to have ruled for $8\frac{1}{2}$ years, his brother Sanjar for 8 years and the accession-date of Sanjar's successor, Nizamu-d-din is given as 25 Rabi 1,866H. This means that Raidhan must have ascended the throne $16\frac{1}{2}$ years before Rabi 1866, *i.e.* in 849. But as he is said to have come forth out of Kachh and to have been employed for a year and a half in establishing his authority in the province, the death of Sikandar and the coming forth of Raidhan may be put $16\frac{1}{2}$ plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ equal to 18 years before 866, *i.e.* in 847-848H. It appears as if 858 is a miscalculation or slip for 848H. The month and date, 6th Jumadi I, may have been correctly recorded.

But there is another complication, Tabaqat-Akbari, and Tarikh-i-Firishta know nothing of Raidhan and leave out his name altogether. Abu-l-Fazl has it, in the Ain, but it is inserted only as another name for Sanjar. As the original source of the information, the *Tarikh-i-Bahadurshahi* is no longer extant, it is impossible to say who or which is wrong. If Masum is right in adding the name of Raidhan, the inconsistencies in the latter part of his chronology may be reconciled by the supposition that 858H was the year in which Sanjar, not Raidhan, ascended the throne. Raidhan appears to have been a common name in Sindh and was borne by one of the Jadeja Samma rulers of Kachh, who died about 1697 A.C. (Duff, Chronology of India, 290; Imperial Gazetteer of India, XI, 78). There is a place in Sindh called Raidhan between Larkana and Dadu and the name is preserved also in Rahanpur.

Page 231, 1.17. *On the boundaries of Mathilla and Ubawar.*

(Mirpur) Mathelo is now in the Ghotki taluqa of Rohri district, about 45 miles north-east of Rohri and six miles S. E. of Ghotki Railway station. It is a very old site and is said to have been captured by Abul Hassan, the general of Sultan Maudud Ghaznavi. (Raverty, Mihran, 488; Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, 175). Ubauro is in the Rohri Deputy Collectorate, 75 miles from Rohri and on the road leading from Rohri to Multan, Lat. 28°-11′ N. Long. 69°-30 E. Constable 26 B.(a) Ghotki is in Lat. 28°-0′ N. Long. 69°-30′ E. (Imperial Gazetteer Vol. XII, p. 236).

Page 233, 1.2. *Nizamu-d-din succeeded Jam Sanjar on the 25th Rabiu-l-awwal in the year* 666 (*December*, 1461, A.D.)

According to the Tuhfatu-l-Kiram, Jam Nanda reigned from 866 to 914H. (Kalichbeg, Vol. II, p. 51, note). General M. R. Haig accepts Masumi's date, 866 A.H. for the accession of Nizamu-d-din or Nanda and states that he died in 914H. after a reign of 48 years (Indus Delta Country, 82). Tabaqat-i-Akbari (636, 1.23) and Tarikh-i-Firishta (II, 320, 1.5) assert that he reigned for 62 years, but this is undoubtedly erroneous, as 866 plus 62 equal to 928H. This would leave no room for the reign of Jam Firuz which lasted from 914 to 928H. In the inscription of Jam Nanda's tomb at Thatta, it is stated that the foundation-stone was laid in 915H. The year of death is not stated, but it appears probable that the event had taken place some time before. (Indus Delta Country, 83). See also the discussion in Erskine's History of Babur and Humayun. (I, 359 note).

Page 234, 1.3-4. *It advanced as far as Dara-karib, commonly known by the name of Jalugar.*

Sahigar is a place in the Bolan Pass near Bibi Nani (Haig, Indus Delta Country, 83). Bibi Nani is 55 miles south of Quetta, 30 north of Dhadar and about 1695 feet above sea-level. It is about 30 miles from Kohundilan or Khundilan, which is the first stage of the Pass (Hough, op. cit. 425; Sir Clements Markham, in Pro. R.G.S. 1879, p. 59).

Page 234, 1.9. *Maulana Jalalu-d-din Muhammad Divani formed the project of leaving Shiraz and going to Sind.*

I venture to suggest that the litterateur referred to here may be Jalalu-d-din Dawwani (not Diwani) the author of the well-known ethical and political treatise called Akhlaq-i-Jalali.

He was born at Dawwan, a village near Kazerun in Fars in 830H. (1426-27 A.C.) He was the Qazi of Kazerun and was also a prefessor in the Orphans' College at Shiraz, where he died in 908H. (1502-3 A.C.) just six years before Jam Nizamu-d-din (Browne, Literary History of Persia Vol. III, pp. 444, 423. See also Ain, Tr. III, 422, 424). This work was translated by J. W. F. Thompson under the title of "Practical philosophy of the Muhammadan People" in 1839.

Page 235, 1.10-12. *He compiled a commentary on the Mishkat (traditions) but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Masud (مسود) and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books.*

"He had written marginal notes to many difficult books" (Malet, p 57) (Kalichbeg, II, p. 52) translates the sentence thus; "Maolana. Asiruddin was well read in religious law and had written many books on history and other learned sciences. He had written commentaries on many difficult books". 'Library of Masud' has no sense here. The real meaning seems to be that the Maulana had written Hashiya or Marginal Notes on several classical works and these notes in his own handwriting (مسودة) were extant in the library in the possession of his descendants, or some other collection, when Masum wrote.

The *Mishkat-al-Masabih* is a collection of the *Hadis* or traditions of Muhammad. A translation into English by A. N. Mathews was published in 1809-10.

Page 238, 1.1. *Between Siwi, Dehra, and Kasmur, there is a tract of land called Bargan, which breeds horses not inferior to those of Irak. The young colts are made to walk upon gravel for a year, by which their hoofs become as hard as a stone, and there is no occasion to shoe them, for they can go unshod even amongst the hills.*

"Dehra" is Dera Bugti. Constable 24Cc. It lies in "the angle of the Sulaiman mountains between the Indus and Kacchi. (Dames, Baloch Race, 57) "The ponies of the Marri and Bugti hills are light in limb and body, but carry heavy weights *unshod over the roughest ground* (Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, 339). "The Sarawan country and Kachhi still produce the best horses in Baluchistan" (Ibid, XIV, 301). Bargan is perhaps Barkhan which with Sanjaki and Duki formed part of Thal Chotiali dis-

trict, but was transferred to Loralai in 1903 (Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, 349). It is shown in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas, 35 E2. Kashmor is marked in Constable 26Ba.

Page 238, 1.6. *At Chhatur there is a tribe called Kahari, so called from the tree named Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted and when struck with a whip, it moved on like a horse.*

The Baluch tribe of Kaheri is still found in the Kachhi and Sibi districts (Imperial Gazetteer, XIV,250; XXII, 338; Dames, Baloch Race, 19, 58; Eastwick, Dry leaves from Young Egypt, 100). The tree called Kahar is the *Kirrar* or leafless Caper (Capperis Aphylla). It grows to the height of ten to fifteen feet and its evergreen twigs or branches which are leafless, produce a fruit called *tent* which is pickled by the poorer classes. (Elliot, Races, II, 393) Hughes (Gazetteer, 13) says that its wood also is valuable and is used as rafters and knees of boats. It is the Kariraka of Shukra-niti (Ed. Opprt, IV, iv. 1, 118). Chhatur or Chatar is now in British Baluchistan. Constable 24C c. The story reminds one of the tales of witches in Europe riding upon broomsticks.

The following is from Murray's Plants and Drugs of Sind; "In Sind its unripe fruit is called 'dhoro' and ripe 'Pukkho,' the flower buds 'pussee.' These last are eaten as a potherb, and pickled both in Sind and the Punjab. Prepared with salt and pepper it is exported into Hindustan. The top shoots and young leaves are ground and applied as a blister in native pharmacy, also are very efficacious in relieving tooth-ache when chewed Wood used for knees of boats on the Indus, also rafters and fuel." The Ver. name is Kirrur, Sind; Karel, Kureel, Hind. Punj." N.M.B.

Page 238, 1.28. *Within this recess are inscribed the name of Babar Badshah and of his trusty adherents, Mirza Kamran, Mirza Askari, and Mirza Hindal.....Of all his dominions Kandahar was the only place mentioned. When I visited the spot, it came into my head.*

Dowson suggests in the footnote (p. 239) that a negative is required here and that the sentence should read 'Kandahar was not even mentioned as forming part of his dominions.' But the amendation is not only uncalled for but positively wrong. The 'Great Qandahar Inscription' engraved under the direction of Masum had been edited, translated and commented upon

by Darmesteter (Journal Asiatique, 1890, pp. 185-230) and also J. Beames. (Geography of Qandahar Inscription, J. R.A.S. 1908, pp. 795-802), Mrs. Beveridge gives the following translation of the original epigraph commemorating the conquest of Qandahar, which Masum sought to supplement and complete:—

"Abul Gazi Babur took possession of Qandahar on Shawwal 13th, 928 A.H. In the same year, he commanded the construction of this Rawaq-i-Jihannuma, and the work had been completed by his son. Kamran at the time he made over charge of Qandahar to his brother Askari in 9...."(937?) Baburnama, Tr. Appendix xxxiv; see also Mohan Lal's Travels in Afghanistan and Turkistan, p. 312).

The fact is that Qandahar *was the only part* of his dominions *that was mentioned* in the original epigraph and the primary object of inscribing it had been to record and commemorate the conquest of the great stronghold. It was just because Qandahar was the only part of Akbar's dominions *which was mentioned* in this ancient record, that Masum thought it necessary to have another engraved, in which he names all the other notable towns and districts comprised in the Great Emperor's realm, from Orissa and Gaur-Bangala in the East to Bandar Lahri and Thatta in the west were registered.

Page 238, 1.22. 'Sibuda' is wrongly spelt. Malet is right in reading "Seepoozah" (Sipuza). p. 89, Malet.

Page 239, 1. last. *He (Baba Hasan Abdal) accompanied Mirza Shah Rukh, son of Saheb Kiran (Timur) to Hindustan.* (p. 240, first line).

This statement is not quite correct, as Mirza Shah Rukh did not really accompany "the great Tartarian" to Hindustan or take any part in his devastating and sanguinary invasion. He did leave Samarqand in the train of his father, but was sent back from somewhere near Kabul to Herat, as he had been appointed governor of all Khurasan about a year before (May 1397, A.C.) He remained at Herat all the time and a servant of his actually waited upon Timur when the latter was encamped at Janjan near Tulamba and brought assurances of his good health. (Zafarnama, Text. II, 31, 59, see also Elliot, Vol III, 408, 417). Another attendant brought letters from the Prince when Timur had passed Kabul and Shibar-tu on the return journey (Zafarnama, II, 187, 1.14).

Mir Masum states in an inscription engraved under his supervision on the Buland Darwaza at Fathpur Sikri that he was a descendant of Baba Hasan Abdal. (Muhammad Hadi's Intro. to Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Text 4 Note, last line; Blochmannm Tr. Ain, 515; Beveridge, Akbar Nama, Tr. Text, I, 397, note.) Masum was evidently proud of his ancestry and this accounts for his going out of the way to mention the spot where the saint performed his miracle of the 'golden brick' and to refer also to his having accompanied Mirza Shahrukh to Hindustan. The saint is also known as Baba Wali.

Page 241, 1.11. *He (Gisu Khan) sent them firing and fighting towards the shrine of Khwaja Khizr.*

The shrine is situated on a small island, a little to the north of Bhakkar and separated from it by a narrow channel of easy passage. A mosque in it contains an inscription which has been supposed to prove that "the Indus had deserted the former channel and taken its present course (in or) before the year 341H." in which the mosque is believed to have been erected. The inscription runs thus:

چواین د رگاه عالي شد بوبدا
که آب خضر دارد د ر حوالي
خضر با خط شیرین د ر نوشته
تاریخش یاب از د رگاه عالي

E. B. Eastwick appears to have been the first to draw attention to the epigraph. (Handbook for India, Part II, Bombay (1859), p. 492; Dry Leaves from Young Egypt, 38). He translated it as follows:—

"When this Court was raised, be it known,
That the waters of Khizr surrounded it;
Khizr wrote this in pleasing verse (lit. handwriting)
Its date is found from the "Court of God."

As the numerical value of the words Dargah-i-Ali is 341, the conclusion he drew from the words was that the epigraph was a contemporary document of great historical value which "fixed the date on which the Indus abandoned Alor and directed its course into a new channel between Rohri and Sukkur." But Haig rejects this rendering and understands the first couplet to mean only that "the Indus (or some branch of it) was running by Bhakkar in 341H. It does not tell us how much earlier or when it came there." He renders the lines thus—

When this sublime temple appeared,
Which is surrounded by the waters of Khizr"(Indus Delta Country, 133-4).

Raverty who had pinned his faith to the legend of Saifu-l-Mulk and had a pet theory about the Hakra having been diverted from near Aror, in the time of Dalurai about 335H. made much of the epigraph, as it fitted in with his preconceptions (Mihran, 491, note) but the more recent and better opinion is that the inscription is a fake of comparatively recent origin and historically worthless. The principal reason for this view is that the *Nastaliq* script in which it is engraved is known to have been devised and come into vogue only in the 14th or 15th Christian century. The practice of composing such mnemonic lines or chronograms *in verse* also does not appear to have existed at all in 341H. 952 A.C. (Cousens, A.S. 145-6). Mr. Abbott has also recently declared that the inscription is "a pious fraud contrived to give the shrine a hoary antiquity (Sind, 76n.)" In this connection it may be worth while to invite attention to a passage in Ibn Batuta's Travels. He says that when he was at Bakkhar in 734H. he saw in the middle of a canal derived from the river Sind, a superb hermitage where travellers were lodged and fed. It had been erected by Kishlu Khan Bahram when he was governor of the province, *i.e.* about 1320 A.C. (Defremery, III, 115). May not this 'Shrine of Khwaja Khizr' be the hermitage erected by Kishlu Khan?

Ranipur (line 6) is now in Khairpur State. It is shown in Constab-table 26 B. b.

Page 242, l.30. *When Tarsun Muhammad Khan received permission to depart from the Court, some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Saifu-l-Mulk on the borders of the country.*

Tarsun Muhammad Khan was the sister's son of Shah Muhammad Saifu-l-Mulk, who had been, at one time, independent ruler of Gharjistan, but had to submit to Shah Tahmasp of Persia in 940 A.H. Tarsun Muhammad himself afterwards took service under Akbar. He rose to be a *Panjhazari* and was killed in Bengal by the insurgent Masum Khan Far nkhudi in 992H. (Blochman, Ain., Tr. I, 342-3). When Tarsun Muhammad Khan sent his cousin Muhammad Tahir (the son of Shah Muhammad Saifu-l-Mulk) and two other relatives in advance, to take charge of the *Jagir* (Elliot, 241, last three lines)

his rivals and enemies at the Court pointed out that as he was the nephew of a quondam ruler of Gharjistan, a man with a following and connections in Persia and on the Indian Frontier, it was not safe to make him governor of an impregnable fortress, situated like Bhakkar, in a remote part of the empire. The Emperor was thus persuaded to cancel the appointment and he was made governor of Agra, as he would be there under the Emperor's own eye and find it impossible to turn traitor. Masum merely records the reasons for the change.

Raverty's assertion that Shah Muhammad was entitled Saifu-l-Mulk because he was a descendant of 'this very merchant' Saify-l-Mulk, to whom local legend attributes the diversion of the river and the destruction of Alor, is a fantastic and absolutely groundless supposition. He had some how convinced himself of the truth of the folk-tale but his attempt to bolster it up by this grotesque conjecture is a dismal failure. (Mihran, 485-86, notes). Many other persons have been styled Saify-l-Mulk and *Saifyu-d-daula* Saifu-l-Mulk are very common *Ilqab*.

His argument that the story must be true because the graves of Saifu-l-Mulk and his sons Ratta and Matta (Matta) are still pointed out and visited by pilgrims at a village called Ratta-Matta, lying about five miles from Jatoi and 32 from Dera Ghazi Khan (Mihran, 409, 496, notes) is scarcely worthy of serious attention. Its logic is almost as naive as that of the 'simple child' in Wordsworth's poem. The names of the sons and of the village are obvious fabrications of the eponymous type, while those of the merchant and his slave girl are found in the Arabian Nights (Lane's trans. III, 744 and Note) and other story books.

Page 243, 1.7. *He sent a force against the Mankinjas of the district of Gagri.*

The correct form is "Mangnejas.' Hughes states that they are a Sindhi clan settled in Naushahro district (Gazetteer, 583). They are perhaps so called because they are descended from a person named 'Mangne.' Cf. Samejas, Jadejas, Kakeja, Kureja, Sammas (Elliot, pp. 339, 340).

Gambaz or Gambat (1.13) is twelve miles south of Khairpur, and ten miles east of the Indus (Hughes, Gazetteer, p. 170). Constable 26Bb. 'Bajran' (1.13) is written 'Vejuran' in Malet and

may be Vanjhrot or Vinjrot or Vijnot, a very old Hindu town which lies four miles south of Reti station and 63 miles west of Rohri (Imperial Gazetteer, XXIII, 121). There are extensive ruins here in which very large bricks like those of Brahmanabad have been found (Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, p. 72-75 "The ruined site of Vijnot."

Page 244, 1.8. *After the death of Itimad Khan the Emperor granted the country of Bhakkar in jagir to Fath Khan Bahadur, Raja Parmanand and Raja Todarmal.*

Dowson states that Ms. B makes no mention of Todarmal and speaks of only two grantees. The explanation is that Raja Parmanand was a relation (خویش) of Todarmal (Akbar Nama, III, 70, Tr. 97; Kalichbeg, II, 109). The copyist of Ms. A must have dropped out the word and interpolated the conjunction in its stead. خویش also means 'son-in-law') and that may have been Parmanand's exact relationship to the great minister.

Page 244, 1.25. *At the instigation of one Farid he (Shihab) attacked the people of Khan Nahar, and led a force against the fort of Kin-kot which was in the hands of Ibrahim Nahar.*

Malet's reading is 'Kamkot.' It must be Kin or Kinkot. "About 1450 the Nahars who are a branch of the Lodis..... succeeded in establishing their authority in Kinkot and Sitpur in Dera Ghazi Khan district and even extended their dominions further in the Derajat, but their power was afterwards circumscribed by the Mirani Baloch." (Imperial Gazetteer XI, 250-1).

Page 246. 1.12. *His advanced guard was composed of Baluchis.*

Dowson says in the note that the original words are بلوچ بلدي بود لد and he has left out بلدي as he could make nothing of it. Malet speaks of them as "Boordee Beloochees.' The tribe is known as Buledi or Burdi. According to Imperial Gazetteer (VI, 290) the most important Baluch tribes are the Marris, Bugtis, Buledis, Magassis, and Rinds (see also Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, 250, art. on Kachhi; Wood, Journey, 33). The name is derived from the Baleda valley in Makran (Imperial Gazetteer, Atlas pl. 35B b). They are also called Burdi and there is a tract in Upper Sind near the Indus called Burdika where they are found in great numbers (Dames, Baloch Race, 17, 57).

Page 247, l.23. *The Royal command was then given for a grant in Bhakkar, and the officials assigned to me the parganas of Durbela, Gagri and Chanduka.*

Compare Elliot p. 234 where "Lakri, Chanduka, and Sindicha" are mentioned Abu-l-Fazl registers Kakhri (or Kakri). Darbela and Jandola (*recte* Chhanduka) as *Mahals* in Sarkar Bhakkar (Ain, Tr. Jarrett, II, 334) Chanduka or Chandkoh is said to be 20 kos west of Bhakkar by Malet (pp.83, and 153). It is now the chief town of the Larkana district.

Gagri (which can be read also Kakri) may be Kangri or Kingri, which lies about 20 miles south-west of Bhakkhar (Mihran, 240 note). It is stated in the *Maasiru-l-Umara* that Mir Masum was born at Bakkar, and educated under Mulla Muhammad of Kingri (III, 326; Blochmann, Tr. Ain., I, 514). But Gagri is more probably Kakar in the Mehar Deputy Collectorate of Larkhana District (Hughes, 314, 730, Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, 289). Kalichbeg, History of Sind, Vol. II, p. 111, reads 'Kakri'. Darbelo is ten miles north of Naushahro, which is about 76 miles south-east of Bhakkar (Th.) Chandkoh, Darbelo, and Kakar are all in proximity of one another and are shown in Constable Pl. 26B b. The name Chanduka or Chandkoh, the old designation of what is now called the Larkana sub-division, is derived from the Chandia tribe of Baluchis. (Imperial Gazetteer, XVI, 139).

Page 248, l.5. *Having so determined, the river was crossed, batteries (morcha) were raised, and we began to take measures for securing a passage over the river.*

Dowson observes in the footnote that "the text says د و مقام ساختن پاياب شد لد The word pay-ab commonly means 'a ford.' As the river had been already crossed, there was neither sense nor reason in making "a ford." Besides a ford is not made. I suggest that the right reading is پاشیب Pashib, which is used by Barani more than once (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Z. Barani, text, 213, l.18; 253, l.20; 277, l.6;) in connection with the sieges and in juxtaposition with گرگچ Dowson renders it as 'mound' in his translation of the second passage (Elliot, III, 165). and leaves it untranslated in that of the third (Elliot, III, 174). Amir Khusrau also uses the word frequently in his accounts of the sieges of Ranthambor and Warangal and says in connection with the first that "sandbags were sewn and with them was constructed a *Pashib* high enough

to touch the western tower of the fort. *Maghribis* then shot large stoneballs from the summit of the *Pashib.*" (Khazain, Tr. Habib 39, see also ibid, p. 41). Elsewhere he speaks of a *Pashib* "reaching the summit of the hill on which the fort of Siwana stood" (ibid, 54) of a *Pashib* "so wide that files of hundred men abreast may ascend over it to the fort" (ibid, 56) and describes a *'pashib'* as "the means of opening the way to a besieged fort" (ibid, 83). There can be little doubt that the right reading here is پاشیب *i.e.* "earthworks to mount and protect the guns."

Page. 248, 1.10. *Jani Beg then threw up a sort of fort on the bank of the river at the village of Lohari above Nasrpur.*

The correct name is Bohiri or Bohri, a village which still exists about ten miles north of Nasrpur. It "lies in a large loop of land formed by an abrupt recurving of the river, the neck of which Jani Bag closed with strong earth-works armed with artillery." This earth-work was Masum's 'sort of fort' and it was 'protected on other sides, either by the river or by soft and treacherous quicksands and quagmires. His fleet of boats enabled him to command the river and keep open his communications with the land and draw supplies from the whole of Lower Sind" (Indus Delta Country, 103-4 and 196 note).

Page 249, 1.19. *Khusru Khan acted judiciously; keeping his own ghrabs in the rear, he sent others in pursuit and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingi fighting men on board fell into his hands.*

This translation is manifestly wrong and Malet's rendering is very different. The 'Firingi fighting men' were employed not by the Mughals but by Jani Beg and they must have fallen, not into the hands of Khusrau Khan, but into those of his enemy, the Khan-i-Khanan, just as Malet says.

Malet, P. 154 "Khosrow Khan, ordering all the boats to proceed, he himself remained in the rear;but some of their vessels having on board sepoys and some Furinghees fell into the hands of Khan Khanan.....The following day we marched against the fort in which Janee Beg had taken refuge, surrounding it; but around this there were isolated hills, on which account it appeared a difficult matter to take it.

Page 249, 1.28. *There were some little sandhills (Chihla) around and the place seemed difficult to take.*

چیلہ is a quagmire, quicksand, slough, or morass, and not a 'sand-hill'; It is practically identical with جمجمہ or دلدل which latter is explained in the *Waqiat-i-Baburi* of Shaikh Zain Khwafi as آب پر حیلہ (treacherous water). Such a place 'looks like solid ground, but it is really so soft that any one who places his foot upon it is liable to sink and disappear for ever' (Mrs. Beveridge, Tr. Babur Nama, 31 note). Elliot says چیل means wet oozy land, from چیلا mud (Races, II, 266). جمجمہ is used at Akbar Nama, II, 112 and rendered as 'quagmire or bog' (Tr. II, 171 note). چیلہ and دلدل are used as synonymous terms in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (102, 1.11 f.f.) and چیلہ and جمجمہ ibid, 381, 1.14. چیلہ is translated by Dowson-himself as 'marsh' at Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 390. Shaikh Zain's explanation of the term as آب پر حیلہ is a *jeu de mot*, a play upon words or the figure of speech called تجنیس مصحف or تصحیف by Persian rhetoricians. It shows, however, that he did not understand it as a 'hill' but as 'a piece of water, a bog or morass.' The same word is used at 248, 1.9 f.f. infra, and there also the meaning of ناچار بایستی از چیلہ عبور نموده باردو رسیدند must be that "they were obliged to cross over the *morass* (not 'sand bank' as in Dowson) to reach the camp." The word is used in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, also in the account of the conquest of Sind under Akbar (text, 375, 1.8 f.f.) Dowson himself translates it there as 'morasses' (Elliot, V. 462). The Tarkhan-nama also describes 'chihlas' as "places which are so soft that if any one set foot on them, he would sink up to his neck." (Indus Delta Country 103).

Page 250, 1.3. *Shah Beg Khan should march to besiege Shah-garh.*

As Shahgarh is an oft-recurring toponym, it may be as well to say that it was a fort about ten miles north of Bohiri. (Indus Delta Country, 106). In the Tarikh-i-Tahiri Shahgarh is said to have been in the province of Nasarpur (Elliot, p. 286). Bohiri was ten miles north of Nasarpur.

Page 250, 1.4. *The Khan-i-Khanan accordingly proceeded to Thatta, another force went against Badin, Fath Khan and Jun, and Shah Beg besieged Shah-garh.*

Badin lies S.S.E. of Haidarabad and is now a station on the North-Western Railway, Constable 26BC. Fath Khan is

an error for Fath Bagh. It lay about five miles N.W.W. of and higher up than Jun on the right bank of the Ren, and six miles south-east of Tando Muhammad Khan on the route to Badin (Indus Delta Country, 93). It is the Bagh-i-Fath of the Ain (Tr. II. 340). June itself lay 75 miles south-west of Amarkot and 50 north-east of Thatta. It is now a small village in the Guni Taluqa of Haidarabad district. It is centrally situated in the Delta. All these three places lay on the main route northwards to Nasrpur, Sehwan and Bhakkar (Indus Delta Country, 92; Mr. C. E. A. Oldham in Indian Antiquary (LIX), 1930, p. 240; Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, Map, plate ciii).

Page 251.1. *Jani Bag retreated to Unarpur, twenty kos from the battle-field.*

Abul Fazl says Unarpur was four kos from Hala Kandi (Old Hala) and forty south of Sehwan (Akbar Nama, III, 613; Tr. III, 938). This agrees with Haig's location of it at four miles north of Matari and about twenty-two north of Kotri near Haidarabad. The battle-field must have been somewhere near Fathpur in Sakrand pargana and about 8 miles west of Sakrand town. (Indus Delta Country, 108-9). Sann (line 24) where the Khan-i-Khanan encamped, is about 30 miles north-west of Unarpur and 34 south of Sehwan (Indus Delta Country, 109). See also Hough, narrative of the march of the Army of the Indus, p. 436. Both places are shown in Constable, pl. 26.

Page 252. line, 4. *And Khusru Khan was named to be his (Jani Beg's) son-in-law.*

The reference is not to Khusrau Khan Charkas, who is mentioned at Elliot, p. 249, but to the Shahzada or Prince Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Akbar's son, Salim, who afterwards became known as the Emperor Jahangir. There is a reference to Prince Khusrau's betrothal to Jani Beg Tarkhan's daughter in the Turzuk-i-Jahangiri (Tex 8, 1.2 f.f.=Rogers and Beveridge's Tr. 1.20).

There is some confusion in Dowson's version of the Tarikh-i-Tahiri also in regard to these two names. At page 287 Khusrau Khan Charkas the quondam slave of Jani Beg is spoken of as "*Sultan* Charkas" which is a solecism. Kasim (1.6) is a blunder for 'Asir'. Malet has it right and tells the place 'Asseerghur', last page, 156.

Page 252, 1.6. *On the 25th Rajab, Mirza Jani Beg died of brain fever.*

The year is left out here. It is given at 1008H by Malet but that is wrong. Abul Fazl gives the exact date as 13 Bahman in the 45th year of Akbar's reign. Faizi Sirhindi says the event took place on 1st Shaban 1009H, equal to 26th January 1601, A.C. (Akbar Nama, Tr. Beveridge, III, 1172 note).

Calculation shows that Abul Fazl's 13th Bahman XLVR. corresponds to 25th Rajab 1009. The fortress of Asir was taken on 7th Bahman 45R, equal to 16th-17th January 1601 (O.S.). The Ilahi equivalent of 1st Shaban (26th January 1601) would be 18th Bahman. The 46th Ilahi year of Akbar's reign began on 15th Ramazan, 1009H. Between 25th Rajab and 15th Ramazan, the number of intervening days is 48 (5+29+14) and 13th Bahman XLVR was 43 (13+30) days before 1st Fravardin of the XLVIth Regnal year. The date given by Masum is practically identical with Abul Fazl's. Faizi Sirhindi puts the event six days later, but the correct year is, according to both these authors, 1009 and not 1008H, as given by Malet. Mirza Jani really died of excessive indulgence in strong drink, which brought on paralysis and delirium tremens. (Maasiru-l-Umara. III, 310; Ain. Tr. I, 363). There is no truth in the report that Akbar had Jani Beg poisoned on account of his having made an indiscreet remark in connection with the capture of Asirgarh (Ibid).

SHAH ABDUL LATIF OF BHIT.

By H. T. Sorley, C.I.E., D. Litt.

It is a matter for congratulation that the premier poet of Sind should have been dealt with by so well equipped an authority as Dr. Sorley. His knowledge and love of Sind, his erudition and his considerable power of versification, render him well qualified for a task that is worthy of the highest talent. Shah Abdul Latif is memorable not only as the only Sindhi classic but because he has been and still is known in some form or other to all classes in the Province. His poems, utilising ancient Hindu stories and written to be sung to Indian airs, Hindu in their origin, made an appeal to Hindus which was not affected, if indeed it was not strengthened, by the qualities which endeared him to the Moslems: his strict adherence to religious orthodoxy in spite of his Sufistic philosophy, and his profound piety. He was perhaps the last, as he was certainly the greatest, of the school of the tolerant Tuwassuf of Sind. As, however, Dr. Sorley rightly says, he was first of all a poet and not a philosopher. He was "incomparably the greatest man whom Sind has produced in imaginative art," and "the last of the great mediaeval poets of India." As such he sang for a people whose religious outlook was more homogeneous than it is now, or can ever be again. His poems are still loved and reverenced, but not for the same reasons that supplied the original basis for their popularity.

Dr. Sorley has divided his work into three books; History, Literature and Criticism, and Translation into English verse of the Muntakhab or Abridgement made by Kazi Ahmad Shah which contains the best of the Poet's work. It may seem ungracious to quarrel with Dr. Sorley for giving us so much, but the elaborate study of the history and conditions of Sind, valuable as it is in itself, seems to destroy the balance of the book. Much of it, moreover, can have only a very remote connection with the poet's life and writings. As Dr. Sorley observes, there is an almost entire absence of reliable contemporary record for the period of Abdul Latif's life. Of the four foreign travellers whom Dr. Sorley quotes for the 17th and 18th centuries only one, Alexander Hamilton, visited Sind in the poet's life time. He had only a cursory acquaintance with the country between Tatta and the sea, and, lively observer though he was, it may be doubted whether his observations were always accurate. It is, for example, hardly possible that there were ten Hindus to

one Moslem in the country which he saw, even allowing for the possibility of some of the Sindhi tribes of the South not being yet wholly Islamized. The only indigenous history that covers the period, the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, has little value for a judgment of the condition of the people. Dr. Sorley, therefore, feels obliged to "fill the gap by reasonable deduction," from the conditions which are known or presumed to have prevailed in Sind both before the saint's birth, and after his death till the period of Sir Charles Napier's administration. The argument appears to be that the system of administration and of cultivation did not greatly change, and that the life of the people, and particularly of the agricultural population among whom the Saint lived and sang, remained of an uniform texture. It is doubtless true that the methods of agriculture remained much the same, affording a rough, if precarious, plenty, with a low standard of living so far as material comfort was concerned. We may, however, doubt whether it was necessary, in order to establish this point, to quote at length the account of Manucci's fighting experiences in Sind, or to give a detailed description of the difficulties of the East India Company's Agents, before and after, but not during, the Saint's lifetime, or to give figures of the administration during the time of Napier. We doubt, moreover, whether the continuity of circumstances which would have affected the lives of the Saint and of his countrymen, was so unbroken as Dr. Sorley would lead us to believe. As he points out, the Saint lived in a period of change. The power of the Mogul Empire collapsed, and his must have led in Sind, as it did in other parts of India, to a slackening of authority. The Mogul governors were replaced by local rulers in the persons of the Kalhoras, which may have led to some improvement in the construction and maintenance of the canals. But the Kalhoras were only established after much internal warfare, and their lands were subject to destructive invasions by the Persians and Afghans. Sind was in fact coming into the orbit of world politics. Apart from its value to the Persian and Afghan Rulers as a foothold within India, the power and trade of the British were spreading and the French, with their dreams of an Empire in India, were casting their eyes on the possibility of a Port in the Indus area. Besides the possibility of foreign aggression the internal conditions were also changing. The influence of the Kolhoras was largely based on their standing as a semi-religious tribe. Although, moreover, the Talpurs had not risen to power in the Saint's life time, the numbers and power of Baluchis increased greatly. These two facts led to greater Moslem feeling, and it seems likely that the Saint's life time witnessed

a decrease in the religious tolerance permitted in Sind. Dr. Sorley's excursions into history unconnected with, or only remotely related to the Saint have the additional drawback that in the great space he has to cover he is more exposed to error. Wide as his reading has been, it does not seem to include the Journals of this Society. Otherwise he would not have repeated the error of calling Masson "an American traveller," nor have said that nothing is known about Edward Cooke, whose tomb is on the Makli hills. The statement that officers of the Royal Navy explored and surveyed the Indus is doubtless a slip. It is curious that Dr. Sorley in his review of Sind history makes no mention of the invasion of the Afghan Madad Khan in 1781, which left such long memories in the Province. He seems also to ante-date the termination of Afghan influence in Sind. The protest of the Kabul Ruler to the Governor-General against the proceedings of the British in Kutch in 1820 could only have been made at the suggestion of the Talpur Mirs. To the actual life of the Saint Dr. Sorley only gives a few pages, and he recounts few or none of the tales and sayings collected by Mirza Kalich Beg and others. These doubtless have no factual value, but they have some interest as showing the popular idea of the Saint's teaching.

In the second portion of his work, Dr. Sorley seems to be on ground more distinctive of his own knowledge and insight and more opposite to his subject. After an interesting enunciation of poetical principles and criticism, he makes a careful examination of the poems of the Risalo and of the various influences which affected the poet. Those that came from Arabian and Persian sources were obvious. The probable influence of Baluchi poetry will be new to most readers. The extent of Hindu influences, in the origin of the music to which the poems were set, and of the stories on which so many of them were based, has already been mentioned. As Dr. Sorley well says, the present day Hindus of Sind may feel that their culture has been used in the fashioning of the final product. But the thought and expression are Islamic, coloured by the doctrines of the Sufi Mysticism. Dr. Sorley ends this portion of his study with an acute examination of the spread and practice of Sufism in Sind.

The third portion of Dr. Sorley's volume contains his verse translations of the poems which he has suitably re-arranged according to their subjects. The difficulties of his task are obvious. The effect of verses written to a particular form of music cannot be easily reproduced and the Sindhi text is far more concise

than any English version can be, while the sudden change of thought from one couplet to another makes it difficult to maintain the continuity to which the European reader is accustomed. It seems to us that Dr. Sorley has been markedly successful in some of the individual poems, especially the beautiful "Song of the Rain." The stories such as "Sasui and Punhun" which will always be the most generally popular portion of the Risalo have been translated so as to read easily and flowingly. The variety of metres employed has the effect of avoiding monotony though the conventional models used for the short lyrical poems appear to be the most pleasing.

Probably the Saint's most lasting title to fame is that he used the "kàmi" or amatory poems, so dear to the Sindhi, to teach Divine Love. They remain love poems: but, like the poetry of the modern English writer G. M. Hopkins, they "tell the relationship of the Soul to God."

Dr. Sorley's book as a whole is thus of great importance to lovers and students of India poetry, and of Sindhi poetry in particular. Now that distinguished Indian scholars like Kalich Beg and Gurbuxani have worked upon his text, and a British student of Dr. Sorley's calibre has analysed his meaning and has clothed him in English verse, the greatest Sindhi poet can no longer complain of neglect.

P. R. CADELL.

The Sporting Times, Friday, July 2, 1943.

GENERAL JOHN JACOB'S CAVALRY SUBDUED BORDER TRIBESMEN.

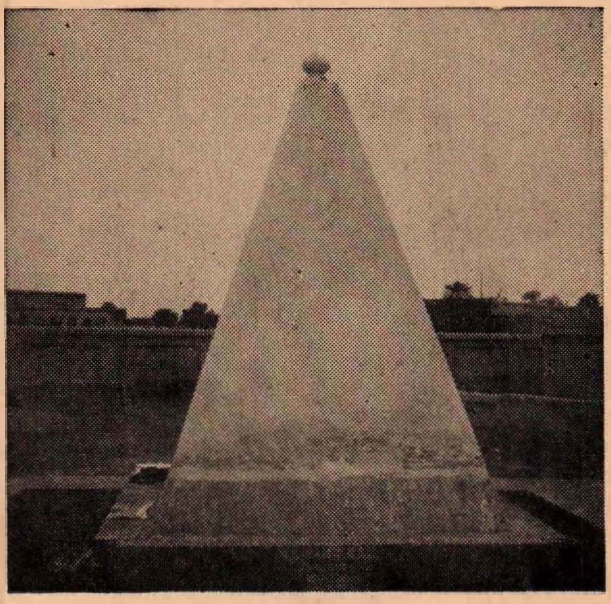
"MESSENGER" WAS FAMOUS CHARGER WHICH FOUNDED STUD.

By SIDNEY RALLI.

General John Jacob, C.B., founded Jacobabad, in Sind, in 1847, as one of the main cantonments for his famous cavalry known as the Scinde Horse. Bodies of the Scinde Horse showed much dash and courage in subduing the wild and fearless border tribesmen. As a contemporary account put it "Whenever a party of the Scinde Horse came on any of the plunderers, it always fell on them at once, charging any number, however superior, without the slightest hesitation. Against such sudden attacks, the robber horsemen never attempted to stand; they always fled at once, frequently sustaining heavy loss in men and never succeeding in obtaining any plunder."

In order to make these fighting swoops, the Sciende Horse had to be well-mounted, so General Jacob turned his attention to breeding, although in his opinion, "The Sind horse is a wretched creature, which is scarcely worth while to attempt to improve when so many good breeds of horse exist in the neighbourhood of the province, and are brought to the market in such numbers." He continued "one of the richest Jaghirdars expressed to me his wish to breed horses, and his great desire to possess an Arab stallion. the man's parsimony prevented his purchasing one for himself, though his income exceeded £10,000 a year; but thinking that he was in earnest and that the thing might ultimately be of public use, I presented him with a very handsome Arab." That horse got more than fifty foals, but the mares were of such poor stock that the strain proved worthless.

The Upper Sind Frontier authorities still maintain a number of stallions to serve, free of charge, mares belonging to zemindars of the surrounding districts. Several of these, including one English and one Australian, both with distinguished racing records, were presented to Jacobabad by the Karachi Race Club, a year or two before the outbreak of war,



The obelisk beneath which lies the remains of General Jacob's famous charger Messenger.

Chitra-Kala Press Karachi.

General Jacob not only instituted the stud farm, he formed a "haras" at Khangarh, which was the original name for Jacobabad, with several good Arab stallions, to which the local breeders might send their mares. The original stallion stables lie a stone's throw from the Residency. Beyond them stretch the bazars. The stallion stables have however been transformed and the old loose boxes house a mission hospital.

In the inner courtyard stands a whitewashed obelisk, beneath which lie the remains of General Jacob's favourite charger "Messenger." "Messenger" must often have carried his distinguished master at a gallop across the desert in pursuit of bandits until his years made him too slow for warlike forays. He was then put to stud.

The Editor of the Journal is thankful to Mrs. Sidney Ralli for allowing her article to be re-produced and to the Publisher of the Sporting Times for lending the block.

A NOTE ON THE SINDHI ALPHABET.

By ZAARIN QULAM.

Read before the Sind Historical Society on 24th May, 1943.

It is by no means universally known that Sind owes its alphabet and its whole written language to its British Administrators. When Sir Charles Napier conquered Sind, although the country had a well-defined language of its own, that language had no written script which had gained general recognition, and public business was carried on by Hindu scribes who wrote a mongrel Persian in the Persian character. The so-called "Abul Hassan-ji-Sindhi," which was being taught by Mullas in the Mosques at the time of the British conquest, was no more than an attempt to write colloquial Sindhi in ordinary Arabic script, and the same may be said of Wathen's "Grammar of Sindhi" in Arabic script, which was written in 1836 for the use of political officers at the Court of Amirs of Sind. The Hindu traders, too, had adopted for the purposes of their accounts a form of the Devanagiri script.

2. When Sir Bartle Frere took charge of the Province eight years after the conquest, he found only two British Officers who could speak Sindhi, and none of their clerks who could write it. Orders were at once issued requiring civil officers to pass a test in the colloquial language, but before any use could be made of Sindhi in official corespondence, it was necessary to devise an alphabet in which it could be written. The only two officers whose knowledge of the language gave them any right to an opinion on this subject were Capt. (afterwards Sir Richard) Burton and Capt. Stack. Unfortunately, these two officers held very divergent views, Burton advocating an adoptation of the Arabic alphabet, and Stack wishing to adopt a modification of the Hindu script already in use, for their limited interests, among the traders of the province. Even in those days, the racial aspect of the question caused Frere to hesitate: he feared that the Hindus would refuse to learn the one, while the Moslems would scorn to use the other. In 1853, however, his hesitations were resolved by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, who decided in favour of an Arabic script. Mr. (afterwards Sir Barrow) Ellis, who was then Collector of Hyderabad, was given the task of devising an alphabet, and the present Sindhi alphabet is the result. With the adventitious aid of a liberal supply of dots, both

above and below, the twenty-nine letters of the Arabic alphabet were expanded into the Sindhi alphabet of fifty-two letters, all of which were considered necessary if due recognition was to be given to the fine shades of gutteral and dental articulation in which colloquial Sindhi excelled.

3. The new script made rapid headway, and with its aid Sindhi was made the official language of the Province, and Persian disappeared from the records. Its supremacy would have been even more rapidly established but what can now be seen to have been an ill-advised attempt to establish, side by side with the Sindhi alphabet, a new Hindu script for the use of Hindus. The moving spirit in this mistaken movement was Mr. Narayan Jaganath Wadia, a Deccani Brahmin gentleman whom the Bombay Government appointed to be Deputy Educational Inspector in Sind.

4. It should here be explained that there was until 1872, and again from 1876 to 1887, no full-time Educational Inspector in Sind. The duties of this post were imposed, as an additional charge, on some European Officer who was suspected, sometimes, as the event showed, quite wrongly of having a particular flair for the subject. The result was that Mr. Wadia, who remained in Sind for a quarter of a century, was able, owing to the pre-occupation of his nominal superiors with their other duties, to exercise a good deal more influence over educational policy than his position warranted. He was able to persist in his experiments with the Hindu rural alphabets, which he standardized and improved by the addition of vowel-marks, and in 1868 the Government of Bombay were pursuaded to order the introduction of the new Sindhi script into the schools. Further, favoured treatment for the new alphabet was soon secured: special schools were opened for teaching it, and teachers under training were compelled to learn it and teach it in the existing Arabic-Sindhi schools. Side by side with this movement, there was also going on the concentration of schools in Municipal areas, in spite of the fact that they were paid for by a voluntary self-imposed cess on the land revenue: the result was that while the number of Moslem boys under instruction was doubled during the decade between 1860 and 1870, the number of Hindu boys increased five-fold.

5. In spite, however, of the determined advocacy of Mr. Mehta and the diversion of funds from the local cess, the popularisation of the Hindu-Sindhi script proved a hopeless task, and in 1881 Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, himself a Sindhi Amil,

and as an Assistant Collector in Sind then at the beginning of his brilliant career, definitely recommended its abolition. He pointed out that even the mercantile classes disowned the new script, and the little banya school boys only learned it in order to forget it as soon as they left school, when they went back to their old vowel-less shorthand. Then, as now, what the Hindu shop keeper wanted for his accounts was a set of esoteric symbols which only he could interpret, and he had little interest in a form of writing that everyone could understand. Mr. Dayaram Gidumal's views were endorsed by the Commissioner, Mr. Giles, official support was withdrawn, and the script soon died a natural death when it ceased to be pushed by the Government agency.

6. The main result of this unfortunate experiment was the legacy of resentment with which the more discerning Moslems realised how easily a foreign Government could be misled by sectarian propaganda masquerading in the garb of educationl enthusiasm. The attempt to replace Arabic-Sindhi is now a forlorn hope, but from time to time there are still found people in Sind, to whom any sign of the predominance of the Moslem Culture is anathema and who are willing to lead this forlorn hope. Some ten years ago a new attack was made on the current Sindhi script, in which it was alleged there were at least nine superfluous letters which ought to be eliminated. This was followed up by the assertion the original pure Sindhi had been "defaced" by the introduction of words of Arabic or Persian origin: it therefore behoved the educational reformer who wished to bring Sindhi to its "original beautiful form" to abolish all the words of Arabic or Persian origin which had enriched the language, to alter such terminations and inflexions as had the same hateful origin and to remove the superfluous nine letters.

7. Since even today there are sectarian visionaries who dream this same dream, it is permissible to point out a serious obstacle to its realisation. It would be necessary to find someone who could understand this new beautiful language, and who would be prepared to devote all his energies to teaching it to the people of Sind.

INUNDATION OF THE INDUS TAKEN FROM THE LIPS OF AN EYE-WITNESS A.D. 1842.

(Communicated by Capt. J. Abbott).

Ushruff Khan, Zemindar of Torbaila, states: "In the month of Poos (Dec.) the Indus was very low. In Maag and Phagoon (Jan. and Feb.) it was so low as to be fordable (an unprecedented phenomenon). In Chayt it continued very low, but not fordable. In Bysakh (April) the same. About the middle of Jayt (May) 1st 1848, the atmosphere was one day observed to be very thick, the air still. At about 2 p.m. a murmuring sound was heard from the north-east amongst the mountain which increased until it attracted universal attention, and we began to exclaim "what is this murmur? Is it the sound of cannon in the distance. Is Gundgurh* bellowing? Is it thunder?" Suddenly some one cried out, the "Rivers come." And I looked and perceived that all the dry channels were already filled and that the river was racing down furiously in an absolute wall of mud, for it had not at all the colour or appearance of water. They who saw it in time easily escaped. They who did not were inevitably lost. It was a horrible mess of foul water, carcases of soldiers, peasants, war-steeds, camels, prostitutes, tents, mules, asses, trees, and household furniture, in short, every item of existence, jumbled together in one flood of ruin. For Raja Goolab Singh's army was encamped in the bed of the Indus at Koolaye, 3 koss above Torbaila, in check of Poynda Khan. Part of the force was at that moment in hot pursuit, or the ruin would have been wider. The rest ran, some to large trees which were all soon uprooted and borne away, others to rocks which where speedily buried beneath the waters. Only they escaped who took at once to the mountain side. About five hundred of these troops were at once swept to destruction. The mischief was immense. Hundreds of acres of arable land were licked up and carried away by the waters. The whole of the Seesoo trees which adorned the river's banks; the famous Burgutt tree of many stems, time out of mind, the chosen bivouac of travellers, were all lost in an instant. The men in the trees, the horses and mules tethered to the stems, all sunk alike into the gulf and disappeared for ever. As a woman with a wet towel sweeps away a legion of ants, so the river blotted out the army of the Raja. There were two villages upon an island opposite Ghazi. One of the inhabitants was returning from Srikote, and descending the mountain. When he came within sight of the spot where he had left all he held dear, he naturally looked with

affection toward his home. Nothing was visible but a wide rushing sea of mud. His house, his friends, his household, his village, the very island itself had disappeared. He rubbed his eyes in mortal terror, distrusting his sight, hoping it was dream. But it was a too horrible reality. He alone of all that busy hive of moving, struggling, hoping, fearing beings, was left upon the earth."

So far the Zemindar, and to the eloquent description of an eye-witness, I need only add, that it will take hundreds, if not thousands, of years to enable time to repair with its healing hand the mischief of that terrible hour. The revenue of Torbaila has in consequence dwindled from 20,000 to 5,000 Rupees. Chuch has been sown with barren sand. The timber for which the Indus had been celebrated from the days of Alexander until this disaster, are now so utterly gone, that I vainly strove throughout Huzara to procure a Seesoo tree for the repair of the Field Artillery carriage. To make some poor amends, the river sprinkled gold dust over the barren soil, so that the washings for several successive years were farmed four times their ordinary rent. It is generally believed that the accumulation of the waters of the Indus was occasioned by a landslip which blocked up the valley; but this and other interesting questions we must leave for solution to Mr. Vans Agnew, whose late mission to Gilgit promises so much to lovers of science."

J. R. A. S. (Bengal), March 1848.

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* Gundgurh is a singular ridge of argillaceous schist, permeated with veins of mica, and of sulphate of lime forming a wall about 1500 feet high almost parallel to the stream of the Indus on the eastern bar In its cavern Raja Russaloo (the King Arthur of the Punjab) imprisoned the last of the Rakhus or giant race, having slain the others. He hung up his bow at the mouth of the cavern, so that whenever the huge monster attempted to escape the memento of his terrible victory sent him back roaring with terror to his den. Many natives assure me that 20 years ago they have often heard Gundgurh bellowing, but that the sounds have ceased since then. The mountain has no volcanic rocks or lava; yet the admission of sound by this mountain is too well attested to admit of doubt.

CENSUS REPORTS OF SIND FOR THE YEARS 1931-and 1941. A COMPARISON

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

Read before the Sind Historical Society on 29th July 1943.

In 1931 the census operations for the Bombay Presidency (including Sind) were carried on by Mr. A. H. Dracup, who owing to ill-health was compelled towards the end of May 1932 to proceed on leave to England, and it devolved upon Mr. H. T. Sorley, I.C.S. to complete the work of the census.

Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. was the Superintendent of Census Operations in Sind for 1941.

The smooth progress of census operations must depend on the co-operation of the public. But in 1931 leaders of the Indian National Congress refused to co-operate with the census authorities and disorganised proceedings by interfering with house numbering operations and prevented the collection of information by subjecting census officials to annoyance and in some cases to physical assault and boycotted citizens who were not disposed to accept the congress dictum. Overt hostility was displayed in four municipal towns only, *viz.* Ahmedabad, Vile Parle, Ghatkopar-kirol, and Broach.

The census work in 1941 in Sind was carried on smoothly.

AREA, HOUSES, AND POPULATION.

The exact area of Sind with which these reports is concerned is in 1921, 1931 and 1941 is 46,506, 46,378 and 48,136 square miles respectively. It will be seen that the total area for 1941 of the province differs from that given for the last two decades. No change in the external boundaries of the province has taken place, and the difference is simply the effect of recent revision operations by the Survey of India.

As a new district of Dadu was created, many changes in the internal divisions of Sind since 1931 have taken place. It was formed of parts of the old districts of Larkana and Karachi; the new Larkana district absorbed part of the old Upper Sind Frontier district, while the latter gained some small areas from Sukkur and the old Larkana district.

These changes create great difficulty in comparing with the statistics of former years, as the boundaries of a number of talukas have undergone alteration.

Mr. Sedgwick was the Bombay-Sind Provincial Superintendent of Census in 1921, he observed "the Census House is a hopeless hybrid between the family and the building." Mr. Lambrick considers this statement to be in great measure inevitable, owing to the diversity in the manner of life among the population.

The definitions adopted for the Sind Census of 1941 were as follows:—

BUILDING.—"a roofed structure made of any materials, which is likely to remain in existence on the same site during the census period, whether used for purposes residential or non-residential; being under one undivided roof, or under two or more roofs connected inter se by a subsidiary roof."

HOUSE.—"A building or part of a building which is and likely to remain during the census period, a dwelling regularly inhabited by a human being or a family living together in one common mess, with their dependents and resident servants."

The total number of persons recorded as houseless was in 1941, 80,689 or 1.8 per cent. of the entire population. These elements include seasonal and other temporary immigrants from the countries to the north-west and south-east; fakirs of many descriptions; and wandering tribes such as Ods, Bhats, Karias (wandering blacksmiths) and Wagris.

Three per cent. of the population in the districts subject to seasonal immigation were recorded "houseless," the average in other districts being 1½%.

The average number of persons per house in British Sind was a little under five in the urban areas and 5.8 in the rural areas. The latter show a higher rate than the former in every district; and it is also worth noting that it is higher in the Upper Sind Districts than in those of Lower Sind, attaining the high average of 7.7 in the rural area of Upper Sind Frontier district. The cause of this may be assigned to the tendency among rural Mahomedans, particularly Balochies, for a family to live together after the sons have grown up and married.

Distribution of the population between urban and rural areas.

Municipal and cantonment areas, which alone were reckoned as urban areas numbered 30 in 1931, while they were 29 in 1941. During these ten years, two municipalities, Bubak and Keti Bunder, were abolished, and two, Dadu and Nawabshah were constituted. But in 1931 these two latter were treated as towns.

A new cantonment of Drigh Road was formed; but for the purpose of the following tables the cantonments of Karachi, Manora and Drigh Road have been included with Karachi municipal area as Karachi City and Hyderabad Cantonment with Hyderabad Municipal area as Hyderabad City. The number of towns thus appears as 26.

Of the house-dwelling population of Sind nearly 20 per cent. live in urban areas, and a little over 80 per cent. in rural areas.

Compared with the figures for 1931, they come respectively to 18 and 82 per cent.

The urban: rural ratio calculated on the population living in towns of 5,000 and over is 1:4.

The percentage rate of increase of the urban and rural population were 27.6 and 14.3 for the ten years 1931-1941. In the previous ten years they were 27.9 and 16.6.

Density..Sind has an average density of population 1941 of 94 souls to the square miles; while in 1931 it was 81 to the square mile.

More than two-thirds of the area comprised in Dadu district is barren hill country, and two-thirds of Thar Parkar district is sandy desert. About one-third of Sukkur and Karachi districts is barren waste; sand, bare hills, or salt flats.

The average density of "Sind "proper, *i.e.* the country irrigable from the River Indus may be estimated as 165 souls to the square mile.

The area of Sind in square miles is 48,136; towns 26; villages 6,583; Dehs, 5,495, occupied houses, 8,14,315.

Population.—4,535,008; (males, 2,494,190; females 2,040,818).

Percentage increase in population of the five towns in Sind.

Hyderabad,	1911 to 1921, 7%;	1921 to 1931,	29.8	per cent.
Shikarpur	,, 2.9%	,,	12.6	,,
Sukkur	,, 21.2%	,,	62	,,
Tando Adam	,, 29.5%	,,	3.9	,,
Shahdadpur	,, 42.6%	,,	47.7	,,

Five of these towns are in Sind and increased irrigation facilities combined with the construction of the Lloyd Barrage at Sukkur and its auxiliary canals must be regarded as partly responsible. In Hyderabad additional reasons are its growing importance as an educational and residential centre. The Census Superintendent of 1931 adds that it is however possible that some of the increase may be due to the depression in the business of the "Sind Worki" merchants who finding their branches in numerous places outside India unremunerative in years of slump have returned at least temporarily to their native town till business abroad improves.

Variation in population during fifty years.

Net variation 1891 to 1941 for the whole of Sind is +1,659,908

Percentage variation:

1931 to 1941;	1921 to 1931;	1911 to 1931;	1901 to 1911;	1901 to 41
+16.7	+18. 5	—6.7	+9.4	+41.2

Density:

1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
94	81	68	73	67

The above figures show a fairly steady rate of increase all over the province with a single period of ten years 1911-1921 in which the population suffered a heavy mortality in the influenza epidemic of 1918-19.

The gain in population in Sind during the last fifty years is nearly sixty per cent over the 1891 census figures.

Karachi and Upper Sind Frontier have increased nearly one hundred per cent during the fifty years.

The increase in Karachi is due almost entirely to the growth of Karachi City itself. Steady development of irrigation facilities is the result of increase in the Upper Sind Frontier which

was dependent almost exclusively on precarious rainfall. In the last three decades the change over in this district from one-third rice and two-thirds dry crop cultivation to the reverse proportions has attracted cultivators.

Nawabshah and Thar Parkar show a gain of about sixty per cent on account of vast improvements in rail communication and irrigation in the half century.

Hyderabad district has increased by over 50 per cent; Sukkur by 46; Dadu by 40 and Larkana by 35 per cent.

Larkana comprising roughly the tract known as Chandukah in former days, has been perhaps the most highly developed part of the province for over a century, and has always been comparatively thickly populated.

The total area cultivated in the province of Sind in 1931-32 the last season before the Barrage canals came into operation was about three million acres, of which about two million were in what subsequently became the Barrage zone and one million in the non-Barrage area.

By 1937-38 over three million acres were cultivated in the Barrage zone area, while the non-Barrage Area showed a million acres.

In 1938-39 the last season for which figures are available the total area Barrage and non-Barrage under cultivation was four million two hundred thousand acres. An increase of 37 per cent of 1931-32 figures. This vast extension of cultivation has occasioned a demand for haris which has attracted numbers of people from adjacent countries in the north-west and south-east. It is possible that people in the province have moved towards this cultivation.

On the whole the people of Sind prospered during the ten years, 1931 to 1941.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES CLASSIFIED BY POPULATION.

In the census of Sind for 1941 one important introduction was the classification of "villages."

The basis of the compilation of 1931 was the "revenue village" known in Sind as the 'deh.' In 1931 Sind returned 5,352 revenue villages, and 5,180 inhabited towns and villages; 2,841 of these having population under 500 souls.

TOWNS. The terms "town" was applied to all municipal and cantonment areas.

Villages in the 5,000 to 10,000 class which are not municipalities and thus not classified as towns are as follows:—

Hyderabad—Tando Jam; Matli.
Larkana—Shahdadkot.
Nawabshah—Kandiaro.
Sukkur—Khanpur; Pir-jo-Goth.
Thar Parkar—Mithi.

CITIES. The three cantonment areas in and in the vicinity of Karachi Municipal district have been treated as component parts of Karachi City; and Hyderabad cantonment as part of Hyderabad City.

Total number of cities, towns and villages ..	6,609
Total number of Dehs	5,495
Population of Sind	4,535,008

CITIES CLASSIFIED BY POPULATION WITH VARIATION SINCE 1891.

The most noteworthy phenomenon recorded in the census of 1941 is the increase of the population of Karachi (Municipal area) during the past ten years. It amounted to 45 per cent, the highest decennial rate ever recorded since the ten years 1881-1891, though it attained 43.5 per cent in 1911-1921. Mr. Sorely in his Report for 1931 writes that the rise in population in the fifty years 1881-1931 by 261 per cent was one of the most striking features in the census history of the Bombay Presidency. The figure for the fifty years 1891-1941, 266.2% is even higher.

We will consider the main causes of this high rate of increase in Karachi:

(1) Equable climate of Karachi and its freedom from congestion.

(2) Karachi has gained greatly from immigration; people came over not only from other parts of Sind, but also from Baluchistan, Cutch, Rajputana, Gujarat, United Provinces and the Punjab.

(3) The Hindus of Sind generally preferred to live in towns and villages, migrated to Karachi and settled there permanently, because Karachi is the only modern and progressive place in Sind. The advantages of mild climate are now appreciated.

(4) Karachi became the Headquarters of a provincial Government in 1936. Many new Government offices opened; and this development has directly or indirectly caused many persons to settle in the city.

(5) The demand for housing caused many buildings to be erected. The development of the Artillery Maidan Quarter has attracted many masons and labourers from Cutch; and these people live in municipal limits. The present war did not slacken the activity of buildings; a large number of military buildings are being erected.

(6) The growth of Karachi fishing industry has brought many Makrani fishermen to settle in the Lyari Quarter in the past few years. The demand for Karachi fish has increased all over north-west India.

(7) The development of the Barrage Area has benefited considerably the entrepot trade on which the prosperity of Karachi depended. The number of bales of cotton annually exported through Karachi has risen by nearly one hundred per cent on the average since 1932. Also exports of wool, hides and skins and iron ore show heavy increase.

(8) Carrying and forwarding business of Karachi is thriving; and agency business of every kind has increased during the ten years.

(9) The only obstruction to the further development is the inadequate supply of water. But if the Indus water supply scheme is completed in the next few years, the growth of Karachi may become even more

> rapid. Mr. Lambrick writes "Given virtually unlimited water, no place could be found better suited for development of the textile industry, and it is not unreasonable to contemplate a time when Karachi, with a huge cotton growing tract almost at its backdoor, may compete successfully with Ahmedabad and Bombay."

Mr. Sorely refers to the same subject in his Census Report for 1931; "The high percentage in Sind are noticeable. In addition to the natural increase induced by the benevolence of the seasons during the decade under review..the insistent demand for labour for the Sukkur Barrage has resulted in an appreciable influx of persons, particularly from Baluchistan and the Punjab; and the general stimulus to trade, caused by the disbursement of considerable sums of money in the shape of wages, may reasonably be expected to have swelled the population in urban areas. Further, there have been indications that on this occasion the Moslem element in the population has taken the census more seriously than usual and Muhammadans throughout Sind have been at pains to render individual household returns accurately. In an area where the home is especially sacrosanct and in which the female members of a family are not generally accorded the freedom granted to the womenkind of other castes the influence of this spirit of co-operation is not unlikely to have been effective."

TOWNS ARRANGED TERRITORIALLY WITH POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES.

The number of places classified as cities increased in 1941 by one; it was anticipated that Hyderabad's population would exceed one lakh; it has in fact surpassed this figure by a large margin.

The number of places classified as towns was reduced by one; the municipalities of Bubak and Keti Bunder were abolished after the census of 1931; while the cantonment of Drigh Road came into existence. During the decade the municipalities of Nawabshah and Dadu were constituted.

The total urban population of the province increased by 27.5 per cent; the increase during the ten years 1921-1931 was 29 per cent.

The magnatic influence of Karachi City was never greater. The considerable proportion of increase of Hyderabad is drawn upon the mofussil; but their development is shadowed by the rising towns in Barrage Area, namely Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas. The former has gained by 149 and the latter by 92 per cent.

The following five towns in the Barrage Area have developed during the last ten years, viz. Dadu, Tando Allahyar, Ratodero, Shahdadpur and Tando Adam.

Tando Mahomed Khan and Jacobabad outside the Barrage Area are thriving.

The following four towns are decaying, viz. Sehwan, Matiari, Nassarpur and Tatta. The attractive influence of Karachi and Hyderabad have ruined them. Matiari, Nassarpur and Tatta are centres of handloom weaving industry, which is passing through hard times; and the trade which prospered Sehwan and Tatta has shifted to other centres.

The indigenous Hindu population, i.e.the Lohanas, Bhatias, etc. have a tendency to live in large villages and towns; while the Muslims live in villages and hamlets. Mr. Lambrick states that this distinction is becoming more sharply defined; for while there is a strong centripetal movement among Hindus, a centrifugal tendency has begun among the Muslims.

The following figures show the change of the distribution of the population between town and country;

Total and percentage increases, 1931-1941.

(1) Hindu urban population, over 1½ lakhs, or by 40%.
(2) Hindu rural population, a little over one lakh, or 15%
(3) Muslim urban population, a little over one quarter of a lakh, or 9%
(4) Muslim rural population, over 3½ lakhs, or 14%.

Proportion of Hindu urban population to their total population.

(1) 1931 urban, 36.9%. Rural 63.1%.
(2) 1941, urban, 41.6%. Rural 58.4%.

Proportions of Muslim urban and rural population to their total population.

(3) 1931. Urban, 10.2%; Rural 89.8%.
(4) 1941. Urban, 9.8%; Rural 90.2%.

The Hindu figures include for 1931 the "depressed classes" and for 1941 the "scheduled castes."

In Sind "Scheduled castes" include the various Bhangi castes and Menghwars and very few others. Of these 11 per cent live in towns and 88 per cent in the mofussil; and if we separate them from the "other Hindus," it will be found that almost half of the "caste Hindus" live in towns; the figures for the urban and rural areas amounting to 48 and 51 per cent. of their total population. (I have left out the decimal figures).

We may add that Bhils and Kolis, who are considered as "caste Hindus," in Sind, form a very great proportion of the Hindu community dwelling in the rural areas of Thar Parkar, Hyderabad and Nawabshah. Among them there are many immigrants from Cutch, Marwar etc. but a greater number come from Thar in Sind. 7,205 Bhils and Kolis were recorded in cities and towns, and 176,369 in the rural areas.

The large increase in the Hindu community in towns is made up chiefly by migration from smaller towns and villages in Sind. The percentage of increase was as follows: Nawabshah 150; Mirpurkhas 90; Dadu 70; Tando Allahyar 50.

I have shown above that the average increase in the urban population of the Muslims is 9 per cent.; this is due to very great gains in a few flourishing places, while in the majority of towns Muslims have decreased. The cause of this may be attributed to the development of the Barrage Zone.

In 1931-32 the area irrigated was twenty million acres. It has risen under the Barrage to thirty-two million acres. The vast extension of cultivation demanded more Haris.

The effect of the introduction of the Barrage irrigation has attracted the Muslims out of the towns on to the land. And the Hindus previously living in small villages are induced to concentrate in the towns and larger villages which are handling the growing transit trade in agricultural produce.

Of other communities, the Sikhs show much increase in Dadu, Hyderabad, Karachi, Larkana, Nawabshah, Shahdadpur, Tando Adam, Mirpurkhas, Jacobabad and Khairpur Mirs. It is well-known that the Sikhs are very skilful in matters connected with engineering.

COMMUNITY.

Community has been adopted as a more suitable term than "religion"—

Hindus are now divided into "Scheduled castes" and "others" instead of the old division of Hindus into Brahmanic, Aryan, and Brahmo, In 1931 the "depressed classes" which correspond fairly closely with the "scheduled castes" were not shown separately in the table for religion, but appeared in table, Caste, Tribe, Race, or Nationality.)

Tribes. The tribals of 1931 Table (XVI) religion, were primitive people who were understood to worship Animistic Deities distinct from the Hindu Pantheon.

The Tribes in the 1941 community table are in Sind exclusively Thakurs, who are classified as a primitive aboriginal caste in Sind, though there would be equal justification in including the Bhils, Kolis and similar people of Eastern Sind.

Hindus. Scheduled Castes. The "depressed Classes'" in 1931 amounting to 99,551 included Menghwars, Bhangis, Mochis, Mahons and Dhēds. In 1941 the same castes were counted as "Scheduled castes" their numbers are nearly doubled.

Muslims. Sunnis and Shias are no longer tabulated separately.

Jains. In 1931 they amounted to 1,144 while in 1941 the figure comes to 3,687; this may be due to the immigration of persons from Gujarat to Karachi; perhaps this may be result of more accurate enumeration.

Parsees, Jews and others. No increase or change worthy of remarks.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE MUSLIM AND HINDU COMMUNITIES IN SIND.

The information on this subject is very important and interesting.

The proportion of Muslims to the total population has declined from 76 per cent in 1931 to 71 per cent in 1941. The proportion of Hindus (including Scheduled Castes)has increased in the same period from 23 to 27 per cent. All other communities have improved from .4 to two per cent.

Hindus from Shikarpur, Sukkur and Rohri have gone to settle in Karachi. We find that Hindus (including Scheduled castes) have increased by ten and Muslims by 11 per cent. roughly. The above figures may be further tested by assessing the increase of Hindus in the most predominantly Muslim tracts, i.e. on the right bank of the Indus; and the increase of Muslims in a tract on the left bank where Hindus are comparatively numerous. For this purpose we will examine the figures; we find an increase by 14 per cent. of Hindus in Upper Sind Frontier, Larkana and Dadu Districts, and of Muslims by ten per cent. in Hyderabad District.

We can conclude that the natural rate of increase in the indigenous Hindu population is higher than among the indigenous Muslim population.

The conversion from Hinduism to Islam in former years has ceased to be of importance.

The population of Muslims is greater in Upper Sind Frontier where there are nine of them for every one Hindu; and the two communities in Thar Parkar are almost equal in numbers.

In Hyderabad there are rather more than two Muslims to one Hindu; and in Sukkur five Muslims to two Hindus; in Nawabshah three to one; in Larkana and Dadu five to one.

These figures in form of percentage compared with those of 1931, in Upper Sind Frontier the Muslims are more than the Hindus; but in the south-eastern districts the reverse is the case.

		Muslims	Hindus
		percentage.	
Upper Sind Frontier	1931	89	10
	1941	90	9.4
Dadu, Larkana & Sukkur	1931, 1941	Steady.	
Thar Parkar	1931	52	47
	1941	50	48
Hyderabad	1931	69	30
	1941	67	32
Nawabshah	1931	76	23
	1941	75	24

It may be mentioned that in the census of 1891 Muslims and Hindus were in the proportion of nearly four to one; in that of 1881, they had appeared as six to one.

This sudden decline in Muslim predominance is really due to the fact that in 1881, 127,000 persons were recorded as Sikhs; of whom more than one lakh should almost certainly have been shown as Hindus.

When Sir Bartle Frere was Commissioner in Sind, Census of the Province of Sind was held in February 1851. The percentages of the Muslim, Hindus and "other" population to the total population were then 74,21 and 5 per cent.

The following note to that Census was as follows:

> "The great disproportion between the males and females in this schedule may be in part accounted for by the dislike of orientals and especially Mussalmans, to speak of anything connected with the Haram. It is probable that not a few wives and female attendants are thus passed over."

But growth of education may have decreased this tendency of concealment; but the number of Muslim females to 1,000 Muslim males in Sind actually appears less in 1931 than in 1851; namely 781 against 787. Among Hindus 1,851 census showed 810 females to 1,000 males, the figure for 1931 being 792.

The causes of the deficiency of females in Sind are discussed by Mr. Sorley in his Census Report for 1931. I will quote some of the interesting points mentioned by him.

"It is interesting to note in the Punjab Census Report for 1921, which was the work of two officers, one, Mr. Middleton, believed that the census figures for total population are subject to very little error, while the other, Mr. Jacob, thought that "there is good ground for doubting that the census figures possess the extreme accuracy which is claimed for them." He added that as a district officer in Jullunder he noted "the concealment of the existence of female children as a matter of continual report and observation." Personally I am inclined on general grounds to agree with Mr. Jacob's view. In a Mussulman land like Sind, which returns the greatest deficiency of females in the Presidency, it is well-known that female children are thought very little of and in some cases the parents would be unwilling to admit that they possessed an abnormal number of daughters. But it is not so much the prejudice against female children that may vitiate the accuracy of the statistics in Sind and elsewhere as the utter indifference which characterises anything relating to female children. There would indeed be little cause of surprise if it were found by objective test (could that be devised for some local areas in a later Census) that large numbers of female children are not mentioned in birth returns, in census returns, or in death returns. That is to say, it would not be extraodinary if in many areas girls were born, lived and died between the ages of 0 and 15 without the fact ever appearing on any kind of public record. If, however, a girl in such circumstances survives the age of 15 she becomes valuable as a bride and hence she is likely to figure in public returns for the first time. The age-groups are notoriously unreliable for the lower ages. Even a cursory glance at the comparative numbers of children in the age-groups from 0 to 15 is enough to show that there is something wrong with the figures and it is likely that the numbers of girls between the ages of 5 and 10 and between the ages of 10 and 15 are greatly understated. After 15 another set of influences begins to operate because the girl is then being married or being prepared for marriage and bargainings go on about her, which means that individually the girl now receives attention she did not have before. Very likely too the age of the girl will then tend to be overstated so as to make her out to be a more mature wife than if she were shown to be just reaching puberty. It must be clear on quite general grounds, and it is indeed a matter of ordinary observation that these influences are powerful and they must have some effect on the census figures and, later on, upon the vital statistics. Quite another cause of wrong enumeration of girls of early age occurs when the children of both sexes are dressed alike, as happens sometimes.

Furthermore, there may be quite a strong tendency in certain places and with certain races and tribes to enumerate girls as boys. Enumerators in all areas, whatever instructions were, are not likely to have subjected to a minute corroborative examination the sex and age of every child. If all these influences operate together, as they may very well do, the disturbance to the normal distribution of sexes in the age groups from 0 to 15 may be considerable and the result would be to understate the number of female children, especially in Mussalman lands. A priori therefore there exist strong reasons for thinking that the female population is somewhat underestimated especially in the lower age groups, and this would unduly depress the sex ratio and lead to a belief that there are more females in deficit in India than is really the case. It is probable therefore (1) that there is a considerable concealment, mostly through sheer indifference, of female births and female deaths and female existence, (2) that the concealment works unequally in different age groups, which makes the exact location of the sources of error hard to find, (3) that after a certain age, though indifference is still at work, indifference works less powerfully, so that the figures for females are nearer the truth in middle and late life than they are in early life. As, however, the important thing in a growing population is the number of births as compared with the number of deaths, any great error in the enumeration of females in the earlier age groups is like to lead to fellacious conclusions as to the general deficiency of women in the population.....The age statistics and the sex statistics depend much upon each other. If the age statistics are inaccurate many of the most valuable conclusions that might be drawn from the sex statistics are rendered hopelessly speculative. It is alleged that conditions in the educated classes differ very much from conditions amongst the poorer classes and the primitive and hill peoples in respect of the treatment of girls from the age of five on till the age of puberty. But there is no evidence to show what the facts really are and without some anthropological examination of typical castes and a few test examinations of census statistics in a representative number of villages in various parts of the Presidency, it is hard to see how any advance towards certainty can be achieved.

Mr. Sorley adds:

The lowness of sex ratio amongst females in the Muslim community is worthy of note.

As regards local distribution of the sex ratio it will be noted that the female ratio is higher than the male in the 0 to 5 age-group in all divisions except Sind, where it is as high as 995 which shows that the deficiency of girls in the early stages is not very great. It is probably therefore what happens after that accounts for the very great deficiency of women in Sind. The figures for all natural divisions present the same general features. The female ratio is usually most unfavourable in the 40 to 60 age-group. This is probably due partly to a heavy mortality of women soon after the age of child-bearing has passed, and is doubtless partly the result of the married woman in India, in almost every community, having too hard a life, bearing too many children and not having enough care taken of her when she is required to labour with her hands as well as nurse and maintain children and to do the household cooking. Even the Zoroastrians who are more careful in all their domestic and social arrangements than any other community, show the same very heavy mortality of married women once the period of maternity has been passed. There is therefore a means by which the deficiency of females in India can be remedied. More care needs to be taken of married women, especially at the end of their child-bearing period. An inspection of Imperial Table VIII will show for selected cases how heavy the mortality is amongst married women over 43. In this respect widows offer a complete contrast and the most plausible explanation of this is that a widow has had less arduous marital demands made on her and has had much less hard work to do. As the greater part of the female population between the ages of 18 and 43 is married, the effect of only a slight improvement in female mortality during married years would be a considerable lessening of the deficiency of females generally. The evidence of the census and the vital statistics on this point is not however entirely satisfactory because no detailed figures are available for the death rates amongst unmarried, married and widowed women between the various ages vital for a study of the present question.....

In the case of unmarried women of the Marathas, Sind Lohanas and Baluch the gross figures are probably too small to give reliable results, and they have probably resulted in distortion very favourable to unmarried women in the case of the Marathas and unfavourable to unmarried women in the case of Sind Lohanas and Baluch.

In the 1921 Census Report for Bombay Mr. Sedgwick has discussed very fully the comparative influence on the propor-

tion of the sexes, of racial character, climate and social customs (which is considered as influences of permanent character) and of migration, famine and diseases with sex selection. He showed fairly satisfactorily that the main permanent factor in producing and maintaining inequality of the sexes is the racial factor, though this is liable to permanent modification by (1) geographical or climatic conditions and (2) social customs and temporary modification by some minor causes (Bombay Census Report, 1921, pp. 103-108). There can be little doubt that the main cause of the difference between the Sind figures for Muslims and general Presidency figures is a difference of racial characteristics. Whether this can be modified much is open to question. But there is no doubt that social customs in Sind are not conducive to female predominance and that a great improvement in the female ratio would occur if much preventable waste of female life were stopped.

The explanation of the increase in female mortality, relative to male, between the ages of 5 and 15, when girls might be expected to be as healthy and as robust as boys, has been given in the Census of India Report for 1911, page 218, and the reasons may be accepted as sound. They may be briefly quoted here as follows: "The neglect of female infants is of two kinds. There is the deliberate neglect with the object of causing death which is practically infanticide in a more cruel form; and there is the half unconscious neglect, partly due to habit and partly to the parents' greater solicitude for their sons. The boys are better clad and when ill are more carefully tended. They are allowed to eat their fill before anything is given to the girls. In poor families when there is not enough for all, it is invariably the girls who suffer. In this way, even when there is no deliberate intention of hastening a girl's death, she is at a great disadvantage as compared with her brothers in the struggle for life."

The life of the female population is in fact rather like a fire that starts off with a blaze, is quenched to a dull glow and finishes in a smouldering old age. The life of the male population is like a fire that starts modestly, burns with a bright flame for most of the time and dies quickly without smouldering.

VARIATION IN POPULATION OF SELECTED TRIBES.

BHILS.

The total population of the Bhils has increased by 21 per cent.

Ever since the Barrage canals opened these people settled on the lands as Haris, instead of wandering about looking for casual labour, doing cotton picking etc. and then returning in their old homes in the Thar. The increase in their numbers in Nawabshah is over 33 per cent.

The majority of Bhils speak Thareli or Dhatki, the dialect of Sindhi characteristic of the Thar. They do not mix with other tribes but live in their own hamlets and encampments in huts of wattle and grass matting. Like other Hindus they marry with the caste but not within their own "Nukh."

KOLI.

The number of the Kolis has increased from 60,562 in 1931 to 101,456 in 1941. Like the Bhils they are most numerous in Thar Parkar district. Since the Barrage canals opened like the Bhils the Kolis try to settle on the land instead of wandering about. Hindu Zamindars in Hyderabad District have encouraged them to become their Haris. In 1941 there was continued scarcity in Cutch, Marwar, Palanpur, and even Gujarat, and that induced the Kolis to immigrate to Hyderabad.

The Kolis, like the Bhils, are accepted as true Hindus in Sind. They speak Gujarati, Tharali or Kachhi, and live in their own villages. Like the Bhils they marry within the caste but outside the "Nukh."

BALOCH.

The increase of the Baloch in 1941 is about 75 per cent. more than in 1931. The Barrage irrigation has occasioned a huge migration from the baren hills of the Mari-Bugti country or from the dry plains of Kachhi.

While the Kolis and Bhils in Sind are for the most part confined to the districts on the left bank of the Indus, and a bulk of the Brahuis are to be found in districts on the right bank, Balochis are scattered over the entire province from Kashmor to the Indus delta and from the hills near Karachi to those of Nagar Parkar.

Proportion of Baloch to total population in Sind and Khairpur State is 23 in 1941 and 25 in 1931, per cent.

The Tribes which belong exclusively to Sind are the Talpurs (including Nixamanis) Chandias, Buledhis and Karamatis.

The Tumandar of the Rinds (of Shoran in Kachhi) has practically made over the chiefship of his tribesmen to his brother who lives in Nawabshah district.

The Bugtis, Dumbkis, and Mazaris everywhere in Sind recognize the authority of their tumandar.

The Khosas, Jatois, Lagharis, Lunds and Bozdars are numerous in Sind. Mr. Lambrick adds that there is a tendency for Baloch tribes in Sind to lose their cohesion and for muqadims of sections to set up as independent sardars. This has been noticed in respect of the Buledhis. Another instance is the Jamali tribe which is very numerous and widely scattered in Sind; this has one sardar in Dadu district and another in Nasirabad tehsil in Baluchistan; while the Gabols have two sardars both living in the same place.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE BALOCH IN SIND.

The system of "Phori" by which every tribesman contributes something for the benefit of the chief on occasions of marriage or death ceremonies in the chief's family is still followed.

Among several tribes the old custom that females cannot inherit land is still prevalent. An elder son gets a share in addition to his due as "mehman navaz"—his obligation to entertain guests.

Marriage. A youth marries his father's brother's daughter. If first cousin is not available, he will seek in remoter relations; atlast he goes to a family of the paro or clan; but never beyond the "paro."

The traditional obligation on a Baluch husband to put his wife to death for infidelity is still prevalent especially in Upper Sind.

The Baloch mother is very anxious to change the shape of her child's head and to make it beautiful, just as the Brahuis. The Baloch mother allows her child to spend about the first six months of its life, flat on its back with the head resting on hard ground when the bones of the skull are soft, from which position

the child is prevented from rolling over. The back of the head is flattened producing a broad forehead and wide-spaced eyes—a sign of beauty amongst the Balochis and Brahuis.

Occupation. Most of the Balochis in Sind are zamindars and haris. Some of the tribes depend more on their animals than land; the Lunds of Dadu take out their camels for hire; and the Kapirs (Marris) of Thar Parkar graze sheep and goats. Many of the hill-Balochis gain their livelihood by selling mats, and women of many tribes weave "falasis" and camel-trappings for sale.

MAKRANIS.

No separate figures for this Western Baloch tribe were made this year. There are many in the Karachi City and depend on manual labour; several of them move into Eastern Sind to work in cotton ginning factories, and when the factories are not working maintain themselves by field and casual labour.

Language. Out of about eight lakhs of people of the Baloch race in Sind, perhaps one-quarter speak Siraiki—often differing little from Sindhi; and this is particularly marked among the tribes living in Sukkur, Nawabshah, and Thar Parkar districts. Others speak only Sindhi; it is often found that in a single tribe, for instance the Chandias, particular sections speak respectively Balochi, Siraiki, and Sindhi as their mother tongue. The Makranis are on the whole more tenacious of their mother tongue. Western Baluchi, which differs a good deal from the Eastern and Northern dialect, and are not inclined to speak Sindhi.

BRAHUIS.

The census returns for 1941 show 82,326 Brahuis in Sind. The tendency of the Brahuis is growing more to settle in Sind.

Occupation. The Brahuis who are permanently settled in Sind are Zamindars, cultivators, engaged in camel-transport, blacksmiths and kalaigars, and labourers.

Tribes. Most of the Brahuis found in Sind hail from Jhalawan province of Kalat State; and the Mengal and Zahri tribes supply the great majority. The following among others are also regular visitors, Muhammad Hassanis, Bizanjavs, Sasolis, Baj-

ois, Jattaka (permanent near Tatta) and Pandranis, who are settled permanently in Upper Sind. A fair number of Sarawan tribesmen are found, for instance Lahris and Langava.

Until recent years the Brahuis were accustomed to sell their girls to Baluchis and Sindhis in marriage; as the girls were good looking in youth, the market was brisk, and the temptation to make easy money was great. H.H. the Khan of Kalat has ordered all Brahui sardars to put a stop to this practice.

About the language etc. of the Brahuis, please see my paper on the subject, Sind Historical Society Journal Vol. IV, No. 2, September 1939, pages 61-65.

THE JATS OF JATI AND SHAHBUNDER TALUKAS.

The Jat tribe in the Delta of the Indus have given the name of Jati Taluka and probably they are the oldest inhabitants of Sind.

The Malikani section have their head quarters at Raj Malik, where their chief lives; they wander about the taluka with herds of female camels; they live almost on the milk of the she-camels, they eat no bread and drink no water. They sell their young camels at fairs. The Jats living in Shahbunder taluka, particularly the Fakiranis, follow a similar manner of life. The language of these Jats is considered to be Seraiki.

Other Jat Tribes. Tribes such as the Lishari and Jiskani are found all over Sind. They spend most of their time transporting grain from one place to another. Mr. Lambrick reminds that students of Baloch legendary history will recall that the war of the Rinds and Lasharis was mainly due to the rivalry of the two chiefs of this tribe, Chakar and Gwahtam, for the favours of Mai Gohar, a rich camel-owning Jatni.

Like the Balochis, Brahuis and the majority of the Sind Muslim tribes, the Jats are accustomed to mould the shape of the heads of their children in infancy.

VARIATION IN POPULATION OF SELECTED TRIBES.

SIND.	1931	1941	Variation.
BHIL	67,963	82,118	+ 14,155
KOLI	60,562	101,456	+ 40,864
BALUCH	427,869	748,797	+ 320,928
BRAHUI	71,610	82,326	+ 10,716
JAT		84,372	

AREA AND POPULATION OF TALUKAS.

DADU DISTRICT.

Dadu and *Johi* talukas were irrigated before the opening of the Barrage by the tail reaches of the Western Nara Canal; increase in population is merely 9 per cent.

Kakar shows an increase in population by 29%, thought his taluka like Mehar was, in the pre-barrage period, well irrigated by inundation canals.

Kohistan Mahal received rain fall in the year 1940 increased by 37 per cent.

HYDERABAD DISTRICT.

Tando Allahyar taluka gained much in population since the Barrage, for Nasir Branch flows right through the middle of the taluka on the high level; an increase of population by 50 per cent has been noted.

Dero Mohbat, known as Matli has the highest rate of increase in the whole of Sind, viz. 62%.

On account of the growth of the Hyderabad City, the Taluka has gained by twenty per cent.

Hala in pre-barrage days was well irrigated; between 1921 and 1931 there was an increase of population by 19 per cent.; at present the population has remained stationary.

Tando Bago of which about a third now falls within the Barrage zone gives a modest increase of eight per cent.

The population of *Guni* is almost stationary, and *Badin* at the tail of the Fuleli system has actually lost by 12 per cent.

KARACHI DISTRICT.

On account of the rise in the Karachi City, there is an increase in the Karachi Taluka by 45%.

Ghorabari lost during the ten years 1921-1931, and during 1931-41 a further fall has taken place.

Jati and *Tatta* had an increase in population during 1921-1931 have now decreased to the same extent as Ghorabari.

Shahbunder and *Sujawal* which had registered an increase during 1921-31 are now stationary.

Keti Bunder has lost heavily.

Mirpur Bathoro and *Mirpur Sakro* are the only talukas which show a gain in the past ten years. The irrigation facilities in Mirpur Bathoro area are better than in any taluka of the district; and in Mirpur Sakro the development of the Nari Chach during the last ten years has attracted settlers.

There is no doubt that the general decrease in population in the district of Karachi is due to the effect of the Barrage.

LARKANA DISTRICT.

The taluka constituting the present district of Larkana were among the most prosperous in the whole of Sind in pre-barrage days, under the Ghar and Western Nara systems. The exceptions were Shahdadkot (then part of the Upper Sind Frontier) and Warrah served by the tail branches of the Begari and Ghar respectively.

Shahdadkot has attracted a large number of Brahuis from Kalat State and Balochis from Nasirabad tehsil and Kachhi, especially the Magsi country, who have bought land and settled.

NAWABSHAH DISTRICT.

Nawabshah district had gained 19 per cent increase during the ten years 1921-1931. This rate is not quite maintained during the ten years 1931-1941;but the percentage of increase continues to be high in all talukas except *Kandiaro* and *Sakrand* where it is eight percent.

Nawabshah shows the highest rate of increase 35 per cent; but in the last decade it had gained 48 per cent. *Moro* had an increase of 10% during 1921-1931; during 1931-1941 it has gained 22%.

Sinjhoro had increased from 12 to 17 per cent.

Nawabshah has benefitted greatly from the introduction of Barrage itrrigation; especially the three towns, Nawabshah, Tando Adam and Shahdadpur.

SUKKUR DISTRICT.

Sukkur District is outside the Barrage zone except a small portion of Rohri Taluka and the greater part of Garhi Yasin taluka.

During the ten years 1921-1931 the population had increased at 22 per cent; the actual overall increase for the district in 1931-41 is eleven per cent.

In the previous ten years the talukas of Rohri and Sukkur were great gainer, because in 1931 several thousand of workmen were engaged in the construction of the Barrage. Now they appear almost stationary.

Garhi Yasin has advanced from 10% in 1921-1931 to 16% in 1931-41, *and Gotki* and *Pano Akil*, dependent exclusively on inundation canals have both improved; and the increase in *Mirpur Mathelo* and *Ubauro* are high.

Shikarpur Taluka records a 12% increase after gaining by 20% in 1921-1931.

THAR PARKAR DISTRICT.

In 1921-1931 this district showed a rate of increase of 18%; but under the ten years under review it has advanced to 24%, or by far the highest in British Sind. It was in this district that the success of Barrage Irrigation was instantaneous and its progress most rapid.

In the *Umarkot* taluka the highest rate of increase in population was recorded; in the last ten years it has gained by 55%.

Jamesabad shows an increase by 34%;Mirpurkhas has recorded a gain by 45%.

Digri, Khipro, and partially irrigated taluka of Diplo all show high rates of increase. Also there has been a gain in *Samaro* and *Sanghar*.

Of the purely desert talukas, *Chachro* continues to increase 21 per cent as against 22 in 1921-31. *Mithi* has remained stationary; and *Nagar Parkar* records a loss of 22 per cent. The increase in *Diplo* by 35 per cent is almost entirely due to the opening of a canal in the strip between the Thar Parkar and Dhoro Naro.

The increase in the population of Thar Parkar district can be safely ascribed to the effect of the inauguration of the Barrage.

UPPER SIND FRONTIER DISTRICT.

About one half of *Garhi Khairo* taluka receives irrigation from the Barrage; in this taluka the population has increased by 25 per cent.

Jacobabad and *Kashmor* have gained; also *Kandhkot* which gains 17 per cent; the figure for *Thul* is small only 11 per cent.

Mr. Lambrick concludes that "the prosperity in this non-Barrage district is due to constant local improvements in irrigation and more particularly to the progressive removal of restriction on the growing of rice. From its position close to less favoured lands, it continues to draw a fair number of settlers from outside the province."

In the 1931 census report Mr. Sorley mentions four infirmities—Insanity, deaf-mutes, blind and lepers.

DEAF-MUTES. The largest number of deaf-mutes is in Sind. Of the districts in the Presidency returning more than 600 deaf-mutes each, there are 13 in all, of which 6 are in Sind. In 1911 it was noted that the largest proportionate number of deaf-mutes was found in the Sindhi Bohra community, which showed 177 deaf-mutes per one lac of the caste. The 1921 census showed deaf-mutes, Lohanas in Sind 224 out of 426,697; Baluchis in Sind 403 out of 562,394; Samons in Sind 254 out of 421,583.

In 1931 the highest local incidence of deaf-mutism for males was in Thar and Parkar District (209 per 100,000); for females

in Thar Parkar District 119 per 100,000. The Sind figures as compared with the Bombay Presidency figures are interesting. In Sind there are 164 male deaf-mutes and 88 female deaf-mutes per 100,000 of the population as compared with only 95 and 61 for the Presidency as a whole.

BLINDNESS. The figures for blindness are almost certainly more accurate than those for the other three infirmities. The figure for the blind in Sind in 1931 was 8,123. In Sind the incidence is .21 per cent. of the total population of Sind. If the incidence of blindness be considered with reference to 100,000 of the population it will be seen that Thar Parkar returns the highest figures.

INFIRMITIES. The number of persons afflicted per 100,000 of total population in Sind.

1931				1921				1911			
Insane	Deaf Mute	Blind	Leper.	Insane	Deaf Mute	Blind	Leper.	Insane	Deaf Mute	Blind	Leper.
66	131	209	6	66	57	223	5	61	106	218	6

LEPROSY. Number of lepers per 100,000 persons in Sind, 1881 to 1931, omitting 1901.

1881	11
1891	7
1911	6
1921	6
1931	7

There are 14 Leper Asylums in the Presidency, which provide for the admission of 1565 lepers.

Hiranand Leper Asylum, Mango Pir, Karachi is the only one in Sind. It treated 66 patients in 1921 and 112 in 1931.

INSANITY. Insanes per 100,000 (both sexes) 1931

Hyderabad	93
Thar Parkar	79
Karachi	69
Nawabshah..	58
Sukkur	55
Larkana	53
Upper Sind Frontier	45

Accommodation for lunatics. Hyderabad in 1921, 300; in 1931, 159.

THE JOURNAL OF THE SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CONTENTS OF VOL. V. 1941.

No. 1. January 1941.

		Pages.
1.	Prof. S. H. Hodivala's comments on Tuhfatu-l-Kiram	1—3
2.	Moslem Epigraphy	4
3.	Medals awarded to the Indian Navy for the Sind Campaign 1843, by Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, F.R.H.S., I.A.	5—11
4.	The History of Dress, by Dr. Omar Rolf Baron Ehrenfels	12—24
5.	The Scinde Irregular Horse in its earliest days by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S.	25—38
6.	Sind and the Indian Mutiny of 1857. By C.L. Mariwalla, B.A.	39—42
7.	Two Minor Invasions of Sind, by A. B. Advani, M.A., LL.B.	45—49
8.	Two great occasions in British History in Sind. By C. L. Mariwalla, B.A.	50—57

No. 2. June 1941.

1.	Annual Report and Accounts of the Society, 1940-	58—62
2.	Office-bearers of the Society. 1941-42	63
3.	Contents of the first four volumes of the Society, 1934 to 1940	64—68
4.	Prof. Hodiwala's comments on Tarkhan-nama or Arghun-nama	69—75
5.	The Sassanians in Sind, by N. M. Billimoria ..	76—91
6.	The "Miri" at Taung by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. (with a map and illustrations)	92—111
7.	Origin of the Karachi Municipality by C. L. Mariwala, B.A.	112—120
8.	Books received	120

No. 3. November 1942. Pages.

1. Prof. Hodivala's comments on Beg-lar-nama .. 121
2. List of Books in the Library of the Sind Historical Society .. ..122—123
3. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports for 1902-1916; Articles relating to Sind .. ..124—125
4. Mother-Right in India by Baron O. R. Ehrenfels. A Review .. ..126—132
5. Inscription on the tomb of Abu Turab in Sind with two illustrations by N. M. Billimoria.. ..133 –136
6. The Jats. A Tribe in Sind. By N. M. Billimoria .. ..137 –149
7. With Sir John Keane through Sind, by C. L. Marivala, B.A. .. ..150—164
8. The first mission of the Discalced Carmites in Sind, by Achilles Meersman, O.F.M... .. ..165—168
9. Carmel in Sind, by Dr. A. Nader, M.A., M. Com. Ph.D., ...169—172

Ancient Sind, A Study Civilization, by C.L. Marivala, B.A. .. ..

Na. 4. February 1942.

1. Some observations on Baloch Poetry of the Sind Border by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. .. .. ..173—193
2. Prof. Hodivala's comments on Tarikh-i-Tahiri ..194—203
3. Index to Annual Archaeological Reports for 1909-1929 subjects relating to Sind .. ..204—218
4. Nicholas Withington's route between Nagar Parkar and Tatta in 1613-14 by B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S. .. ..219—223
5. Some references to Sind in a Chinese work of the 13th Century by B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S. ..224—228
6. Was Akbar literate? by N. M. Billimoria ..239—232
7. Post Office in Sind; its early history; by "Zaarrin Qulam" .. ..233—236

Pages.

Vol. VI. No. 1.

1. Annual Report and Accounts of the Society for 1941 and proceedings of the General Body Meeting held on 25-2-1942 .. .. 1—7
2. The Iranians in Sind by N. M. Billimoria .. 8—11
3. The Pirates on the N. W. Coast of India by B.D. Mirchandani, I.C.S. .. .. 12—18
4. Notes by Mr. M. T. Gidwani on Mr. Mirchandani's paper on Nicholas Withington's route .. .. 19—23
5. British adventure in Sind in 1799 by C. L. Marivala, B.A. .. .. 24—42
6. Prof. S. H. Hodivala's comments on Masudi .. 43—53
7. Memorandum of occurrences which took place at Hyderabad Sind between the 14th and 18th February 1843 by Dr. Ramjee Gunnoojee .. .. 54—58
8. Indian Historic Congress, Fifth Session, 1941, Hyderabad Deccan, the Osmania University, Ellora and Ajanta Caves, by N. M. Billimoria .. 59—70

No. 2. October 1942

1. Charles Masson's detention in Quetta by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. .. .. 71—87
2. The Sumra and Summa Dynasties in Sind, by N. M. Billimoria .. .. 88—103
3. Amateur Excursions in Archaeology, Lower Sind, 1941, by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. .. .. ..104—112
4. Treaty ad Travel in Sind, 1800-1820, by C. L. Marivala, B.A. .. ..113—126
5. Review and books received.. .. .. ..127—128
6. Training in Archives Keeping .. .. ..129—130
7. Akbar and his connection with Sind, by C. L. Marivala, B.A. .. ..131—144
8. Emperor Akbar and the Zoroastrians, by N. M. Billimoria .. ..145—152
9. Akbar and the Christians by Rev. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M. .. .. 153—154

Pages.

10. Religious Opinions of Emperor Akbar by N. M. Billimoria .. ..155—161
11. A short sketch of J. Mahomed Akbar by Sobhraj Nirmaldas .. ..162—183

No. 3. February 1943.

1. Devastation caused by the Indus in the 19th Century, severe earthquake felt on the frontier of Upper Sind on 24-1-1852, by N. M. Billimoria ..184—195
2. The Mirs and the Indus Tolls by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. .. ..196—210
3. The Indian Navy, its activities in Sind and on the adjacent coasts. 1614-1863, by Commander R. D. Merriman, R.I.N. .. ..211—222
4. Commercial Navigation on the Indus, 1820-1832 by C. L. Marivala, B.A. .. ..223—251
5. Sind in 1809; Extracts from Henry Ellis' account by B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S. .. .. ..252—257
6. Did the British introduce Christianity into Sind, by Rev. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M. .. ..258—259
7. The Sind Battles, 1843, by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. 260—298
8. The Lion's Last Roar, by A. B. Advani, M.A., LL.B. .. ..299—302
9. The 50th Anniversary of Miani .. .. ..303—306

No. 4. September 1943.

Pages.

1. Annual Report and Accounts of the Society, 1942; Office bearers of the Society for 1943-44 .. ..307—312
2. Criminal Tirbes in Sind, by N. M. Biliimoria ..313—325
3. The Indian Army by Major Donovan Jackson ..326—328
4. Prof. Hodiwala's comments on Tarikh-i-Masumi..329—349
5. Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit by H. T. Sorley C.I.E., D.Litt. reviewed by P. R. Cadell .. .. ..350—253
6. General John Jacob's charger "Messenger" by Mrs. Sidney Ralli (with an illustration). .. ..354—355

Pages.

7. A note on Sindhi Alphabet by Zaarin Qulam ..356—358
8. Inundation of the Indus, taken from the lips of an eye-witness .. ..359—360
9. Census Reports of Sind for the years 1941 and 1941—1 comparison, by N. M. Billimoria ..361—387
10. Contents of Vols. I and VI. of the Society ..388—392
11. The Sind Battles, 1843, Hyderabad, (Dubba), Pir Ari and Shahdadpur by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S...393—438

THE SIND BATTLES, 1843.

II.—HYDERABAD.

By H. T. LAMBRICK, I.C.S.

Read before the Sind Historical Society on 19-8-1943.

On the day that the battle of Miani was fought, Mir Sher Mahomed Khan Talpur, the independent Prince of south-eastern Sind, was only six miles away, with a force which amounted probably to seven thousand or eight thousand men. It is unlikely that he had any intention of joining his cousins of Upper and Lower Sind in opposing Napier, who had no quarrel with him; and he was not on good terms with any of the Hyderabad family except Mir Sobdar, who on the advice of his Minister Munshi Awatrai had determined to adhere to his policy of non-resistance, having nothing to lose by acceptance of the treaty, but on the other hand every hope of being constituted Rais of Lower Sind. Early on the morning of the 18th February, Sobdar sent Awatrai(1) to Napier's camp to assure him of his friendship, and declared that he had taken no part in the hostilities. The General desired Sobdar's emissary to express his satisfaction, and to bring in all the belligerent Mirs to surrender in person before noon, failing which Hyderabad itself would be attacked. Meanwhile a vakil arrived from Sher Mahomed desiring to be informed of the General's intentions towards him. After consultation with Outram, Napier wrote in reply "If you disperse your troops and keep no one with you, I shall reckon you just the same as before." The vakil was still in the camp when Mirs Nasir Khan Shahdad Khan, and Hussein Ali Khan came in and surrendered, and witnessed the release of the last named by Sir Charles, at Outram's instance.(2) He was also aware of the General's direction to Mir Sobdar, sent back with Awatrai, to be at his ease and look after the Fort and town of Hyderabad; and returned with this intelligence to his master. Sher Mahomed withdrew, but decided to watch events a little longer before disbanding his levies.

On the 19th, the British army encamped at the ruined Residency, and here Mir Rustom Khan, one of his sons, and his nephew Mir Nasir Khan also surrendered, and were installed in a walled garden adjoining the ground occupied by the troops,

1. Munshi Awatrai's Memoirs.
2. Outram, Commentary, p. 448.

entrenchment of which was immediately begun. Napier had for some time past intended to form a new base on the river Indus; and on becoming assured that hostilities were inevitable, on the 15th February, he had written to Col. Roberts at Sukkur to send reinforcements and supplies down to him by water. On the 21st, immediately after Outram had left for Bombay, the General having ordered Mir Sobdar to send away all armed Balochis from the Fort, town and suburbs of Hyderabad, sent the 12th N.I. and Captain Hutt's battery, under the command of Colonel Pattle to occupy the Fort and unfurl the Standard of England on the round tower. This force was accompanied by Prize-Agents, who soon took possession of the Mir's treasures, and proceeded also to lay hands on their personal household belongings, no distinction being made between State and private property. Under Napier's orders, however, the ladies were allowed three days, and given facilities to remove themselves and such jewellery and private property as they could carry in palanquins, without search.

Evidence having been received from Karachi that Mir Mahomed Khan had joined with Mir Nasir Khan in ordering hostilities, and as it was known that his men had fought in the battle, this Chief was also, on February 23rd, "invited to join his brethren in affliction in the garden": and next day the bedridden Sobdar was also conveyed thither, "it appearing from records shown by the other Ameers, that 5,000 soldiers, under the orders of Meer Sobdar Khan, had been present in the fight at Meeanee." Meanwhile, there was considerable looting going on, apart from the ordered proceedings in the Fort, (by the beginning of March regular auctions were being held to convert its miscellaneous contents into cash) and on the 9th March, Napier was compelled to issue orders(3) that any soldier or camp follower found over a mile from the Camp without a pass would be apprehended and treated as a plunderer; observing that such conduct would "not only prevent the Baloochees from becoming our friends, but turn the Scindeans against us."

The fighting men among the Balochis had, in fact, been rallying to the standard of Mir Sher Mahomed ever since Miani, and he was well informed as to the proceedings at Hyderabad. On hearing of the arrest of the Talpurs who had taken no part in the battle, particularly Mir Sobdar, his close friend, to whom a reassuring message had been sent by the General in the presence of his own Vakil, he felt little disposed to dismiss his followers

3. General Orders of Sir C. Napier (Green).

and make his submission as ordered. Sir Charles had written to him on 3rd March "you are rallying the defeated Baloochees: you have increased the number of your troops; and unless you come to my camp at Hyderabad and prove your innocence, I will march against you, and inflict a signal punishment on you." But by this time Sher Mahomed had heard of the seizure of the Mirs' private property, and the treatment meted out to their protesting servants: it must have seemed to him that surrender, and the tendering of innocence, were not likely to secure him from a similar fate. He therefore determined to make himself as strong as possible, and borrowed a lakh of rupees from Mir Nasir Khan's wife (that lady having turned to good account the three days' grace before she left the Fort) in the hope that a non-committal attitude, backed by an imposing force, would obtain for him better terms. The Baluchis were with him to a man, longing for a second trial of strength with the British, and the country-folk his active sympathisers, for Sher Mahomed was the most popular prince in Sind. Bands of Balochis successfully attacked the steamer coaling station at Vikkar in the Delta, and the Agha Khan's camp at Jherruck:(4) this Dignitary, lately a guest of Mir Nasir Khan, having made friends with Napier, had been requested by him to secure the communications with Karachi.(5) These latter were, in fact, maintained by the agency of Seth Naomal, by a different route(6): and Napier took occasion to summon from Karachi supplies and every detachment that could be spared. The daks with Bombay *via* Cutch were however interrupted by Sher Mahomed's men: the Jokhio and Karmati Chiefs did their best to carry out the orders issued by the Hyderabad Mirs before Miani: and a guerilla warfare seemed likely to spread.

Napier's position was, in fact, very vulnerable at this time, had his enemies possessed military qualities beyond courage in actual hand to hand fighting. He had been forced to divide his little army in order to garrison the Fort: his camp was not fully entrenched, and would need a further detachment to guard it if he left it to take the offensive, not only as being his base on the Indus, but owing to the presence of the captive Talpurs. On the other hand, the armed steamers of the Indian Navy secured him command of the River, and he only had to wait for reinforcements from Sukkur and Karachi; having thrown away the opportunity of making use of H.M.'s 41st Regiment, which Out-

3. Conquest of Scinde p. 369.

5. Life, Vol. II, p. 342.

6. Memoirs of Seth Naomal pp. 129, 132.

ram had halted for him on its way to Karachi it was no longer within reach, but Ellenborough, with equal foresight and promptitude, had sent troops from Ferozepur to Sukkur as soon as he heard of the outbreak of hostilities.

Sir Charles' chief anxiety was the daily increasing heat: this he had to balance against the advantages of playing the waiting game, which would bring him his reinforcements, exhaust Sher Mahomed's treasury, and encourage him to approach nearer to Hyderabad, when he would be easier to deal with. On the 15th March, Sher Mahomed was in fact within twelve miles of the city, with a very large force: he sent a blustering message informing Napier that if he released his prisoners and disgorged his plunder, he would allow him to evacuate the country unmolested. The evening gun sounded at the moment the Mir's envoy had delivered his ultimatum, and the General told him that that was his answer.

In his anxiety, Napier was exasperated by the complaints of the captive Talpurs, against whom interested parties, seeing the lie of the land, worked upon his credulity with every conceivable allegation. He was led to believe that, though under the strictest surveillance, they were in constant communication with Sher Mahomed; and on the 18th threatened them in a savage letter that he would put them in irons on a steamer if they did not remain quiet. On the same day he went out on a reconnaissance with the Scinde Horse and the Bengal Cavalry, to divert Sher Mahomed's attention from the approaching reinforcements, and to show him that he was not afraid of leaving his entrenched position—which, indeed, he had not regularly occupied, lest his army should lose confidence in themselves. He found signs that the Mir intended to give battle, and on the 20th again reconnoitered the position that he occupied at Tando Jam Ali, which he found very strong, and not unlike Miani. On his return, he received a message from Major Stack, who had reached Hala on his march down from Rohri with a small brigade consisting of the 1st Troop Bombay Horse Artillery, the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, and the 8th Bombay Native Infantry. Stack had been ordered to reach Hyderabad with all possible expedition, and had arrived unmolested at Hala when he received a note from Clibborn, Napier's Intelligence Officer, sent without the General's knowledge, "Halt for God's sake! You will be attacked by at least forty thousand men tomorrow." Stack sent the messenger back for further instructions. Napier was at dinner with his Staff when the letter arrived, and partly as a rebuke to Clibborn,

partly to inspire confidence, scrawled a reply on it and passed it round the table, to the amusement of the company, "Clibborn's men are all in buckram—come on." Nevertheless, he thought it very probable that Sher Mahomed would attempt to intercept Stack, and gave orders for McMurdo, to meet him at Matiari next day with a squadron of cavalry. That evening he issued a General Order to the troops, announcing his intention to march against Sher Mahomed on the 24th.

On the morning of the 21st, McMurdo left with a squadron of the Poona Horse under Captain Tait. Napier had now almost given up hope of the other reinforcements summoned from Sukkur, and from Karachi, arriving in time: but that afternoon (7) to his surprise and delight two fleets of boats came in sight, from up and down stream, almost simultaneously. Those from Sukkur carried the 21st Bombay Native Infantry, with several guns, while from up the river came a reinforcement of Artillery Officers and men: exactly what he most wanted.

Meanwhile McMurdo had joined Stack at Matiari, whence the column marched on the morning of the 22nd. In his anxiety to reach Napier, Stack outstripped his baggage: after passing the field of Miani Sher Mahomed's Balochis were seen on the skirts of a shikargah to his left front, and subsequently advanced on the left rear of the column. McMurdo held them at bay with some of the Poona Horse, and obtained the help of a troop of the 3rd Cavalry: the Balochis were eventually driven off by a sharp cannonade of Leslie's Artillery, which McMurdo had to call for from the head of the column: for Stack still pressed onwards towards Hyderabad.* He had sent word to the General, who despatched Jacob with the Scinde Horse to reinforce him: they arrived about the time when the firing ceased, and formed the rear guard into camp. Napier himself met the column before it reached Hyderabad, with a troop of the 9th Cavalry and two nine pounders, and the whole arrived safely in camp late that night.

Sir Charles gave the new arrivals a rest on the 23rd which he employed in re-arranging his order of battle. He assigned the care of the Fort of Hyderabad to the recruits, and organized sailors and Marines from the Indian Navy ships, together with convalescent soldiers, some of Mir Ali Murad's men, and the Agha Khan's retainers who had survived their mishap at

7. Life II, p. 349.

* Stack says that he halted the column, (S. I. H. Records, Vol. I, p. 28,) but I have adopted Napier's version.

Jherruck, into a garrison about eight hundred strong with two guns for the entrenched camp. The captive Talpurs were placed on board the armed steamers, in charge of the Indian Navy.

For his Field Force there remained at his disposal some 5,000 men, including about 1,100 cavalry, with seventeen guns. When the brigading of the troops was complete that evening, Napier drew up the whole in front of the camp, and put them through a few evolutions. While they were thus standing under arms, vakils from Sher Mahomed arrived, with a final summons to him to surrender. He led them along the line, and bade them go and report to their master what they saw: but they sought a full hearing, and it was not till 2 a.m. that they were dismissed, with a letter to Sher Mahomed demanding his unconditional surrender, if he chose to meet him as he advanced at the head of his army.

Already, on the evening of the 23rd, Napier had moved over the Fuleli an advanced force(8), consisting of the Madras Sappers and Miners, two regiments of Native Infantry, and two eight-inch howitzers: and they were joined by the General with the main body of the army before sunrise on the 24th. He had just received despatches from Lord Ellenborough, announcing the annexation of Sind, and expressing his thanks to himself and the troops for the victory of Miani, sanctioning Regimental Honours, and promising them to individuals. Napier had the Governor-General's orders communicated to the troops, and felt the assurance of another victory in their cheers.

The troops now marched in order of battle, the Advance Guard, as before Miani, being led by the Scinde Horse. Behind them were the Madras Sappers, to cut down the banks of canals for the passage of the Artillery. Napier's last intelligence of Sher Mahomed's position was that he was either at Husri, Dubba, or Tando Jam Ali: (9) and the march was first directed on the *last-named, nearly due east of Hyderabad, all three places being within ten miles. The country beyond the Fuleli was much interrupted by canal cuts from it, running with a general direction from north to south: and these had such high banks that a man on horse-back could not see over them. There were also numerous villages, groves, and gardens: the advance was there-

8. Henderson (Madras Artillery Records)

9. Napier to Ellenborough 23' March (S. I. H. Records Vol. I. p. 27).

* Husri is six miles S. S. E. of Hyderabad. William Napier seems to make a mistake here. (Conquest p. 375).

fore made with a screen of cavalry to the flanks, as well as in front, of the compact column of infantry and guns. After covering four miles, a peasant told them that the Balochis had shifted their position, and were some two miles to the northward. Sir Charles at once sent the Scinde Horse off to reconnoitre, ordered the rest of the Advance Guard to join the column, and changed its direction to the left. Jacob soon discovered Sher Mahomed's position which ran nearly north and south, and formed line within gun shot, sending back word to the General, who was close on his heels. The Baloch artillery now opened fire with eleven guns, and the Scinde Horse once more had to endure a constant cannonade while the rest of the army came up. The ordeal was not so protracted as at Miani: the head of the column was soon in sight, and Napier himself brought each corps into line, as (he says) even his Brigade commanders were officers of the rank of Major, with limited experience. The position first taken up was about 1,200 yards from that of the Balochis, and not quite parallel to their line: hardly was the dressing completed when the British left was found to be within range of their artillery, and had to be withdrawn slightly, causing more delay. While thus employed, Sir Charles sent Major Waddington, with Lieutenants Brown and Hill, forward to examine the enemy's position: and they coolly passed along the front from the centre towards the enemy's left, at 300 yards' distance, under matchlock fire. The General meanwhile gave orders for the Madras Sappers to facilitate the advance of his heavy battery; for the ground though level in the main was broken by nullahs towards the left and subdivisions of the company were attached to each howitzer to assist in unlimbering and getting them into action.

The order in which the army was now drawn up from left to right, was as follows: the Poona Auxiliary Horse; the 9th Bengal Light Cavalry; H.M.'s 22nd Regiment: eleven guns, including the Heavy Battery: the 25th Bombay N.I.; the 21st N. I.; Captain Whitlie's battery; the 12th N. I.; the 8th N.I.; the 1st Grenadier N. I.; the Horse Artillery; the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry; and on the right of the line, the Scinde Horse.

Napier being at length free to make a personal examination of the Baloch position, found it quite as baffling as Miani. The plain on which his army was drawn up was bounded on the left by the bed of the Fuleli, on the further side of which appeared a thick grove of trees. He could also see the tops of some trees on its nearer bank, to his left front; but in front of them, and for more than a mile to the right, extended a high bank of

heaped up earth, differing from the ordinary irrigation channels of the country only in the appearance above it of the heads and weapons of the Balochis, and the flashes and smoke of their cannon. It was clearly an entrenched position, offering no obvious weak spot: it was impossible to ascertain from the front in what strength it was occupied, though Waddington's reconnaissance had shown that the centre at least was held by numerous matchlockmen. One important fact noticed by that officer was the existence of several ramps, easing the steep slope of the bank. On the extreme right front, nearly two miles from the Fuleli, was a grove which Napier, on the report of his spies, suspected to be held by the Balochis with the object of turning his flank when he advanced. The extent of the Baloch line was in fact very ill-defined; but as a round shot whizzed past Napier's face, and into the breast of a soldier of the 22nd, he felt that further delay for reconnaissance would only cool the spirit of his troops. He therefore ordered the Artillery to open fire: but the effect of the eight-inch howitzers did not equal his expectation, and he advanced the whole line about 500 yards in echelon formation, in which it was again halted, the right being thus still slightly refused. The Baloch guns kept up a smart fire, but now a heavy cannonade opened from each of the British batteries, and continued for nearly an hour.(10) Several of the Baloch tumbrils of ammunition were exploded by the shells, and the dismembered bodies of men blown up with one of these could be seen hurled into the air.

There was yet nothing to show that Sher Mahomed had occupied the point oppcsite the British left near the Fuleli. where the trees rising above the hight bank indicated, in Napier's view, the presence of a village like Sultan Shah at Miani: and he determined to launch his first attack here. He ordered the Horse Artillery from the right to the left of the line(11), supporting them with the Poona Horse and 9th Cavalry on their left, and on their right by the 22nd Queens', who at first were held somewhat retired: Leslie's troop advanced diagonally across the front by "bounds," unlimbering at intervals and firing obliquely on the Baloch centre and left, while the British Artillery of the centre crossed their fire, playing on the Baloch line directly in front of them. Sher Mahomed's men were now seen to move from their centre to their right, which confirmed Napier in his first belief that the point he menaced was not strongly held, and that he would be able to penetrate and turn the position by a speedy

10. Henderson.

11. Life II, p. 351.

thrust. He therefore ordered the infantry attack to be launched in èchelon from the left, adhering to this formation because he doubted the ability of his battalion commanders to move without confusion in a single line of such length, and also to provide against a counter attack from the wood to the southward. The Scinde Horse and 3rd Cavalry were told off to watch this, and attack the left flank of any body of men that might emerge from it.

As the Horse Artillery moved ahead, the 22nd advanced: but when within musket range of the bank both came under a severe fire of matchlocks from the village of Nareja, which was among the trees as expected: but contrary to expectation, was occupied in strength. Half the Light Company of the Cheshires went down; but there was no time to change the plan of attack: and just at this crisis a breathless messenger came up to tell the General that the Cavalry of his right wing were charging: Napier instantly galloped across the front to see what had happened.

The absence of matchlock fire, and of any appearance of turbans or flourished swords above the bank of the water channel where it crossed the front of the ground which the Scinde Horse and 3rd Cavalry had just taken up, had given their officers good reason to suspect that this part of it was not occupied in continuation of the Baloch position: their line could not, therefore, extend to the wood. If so, it was a matter of small moment whether the latter was held by the Balochis or not; for undisciplined warriors, once cut off from the main body of their comrades, would never move far from such shelter to counter attack. Now, as Leslie's shrapnel began to enfilade their ranks, the tribesmen posted to the left front of the Cavalry Brigade began to waver and feel to their left. To a discerning eye, it was a perfect opportunity for throwing the whole Baloch array into confusion.

Major Stack, commanding the brigade, had in John Jacob, and Captain Delamain, an impetuous officer who had seen hard service in Afghanistan, two cavalry commanders of no ordinary calibre. Which of the three saw and seized the critical moment for a charge, is open to question: but in an instant it was done; done without reference to the General, who arrived only to see the two regiments irretrievably committed, as they swept forward at speed, the fiery Delamain conspicuous at the head of the whole line which, like a wave, breasted the steep alope, crossed the "karia," and poured over the further bank. Now they came in sight of the real left wing of the Mir's army, posted in and

behind a second scarped and embanked channel running obliquely back from the first; and bearing slightly to the left, charged straight at it. The Balochis had hardly time to fire their matchlocks before the horsemen were in their midst, leaping the channel or crashing down into it, overturning the defenders right and left: in an instant the tribesmen's formation was utterly destroyed, and the two regiments fell on Sher Mahomed's horsemen, who were posted behind this wing in reserve.

The General's angry eye followed them through the dust: he recognized that the move was irretrievable; then, that it was likely to be successful, which put an end to his vexation: and he could console himself, as he spurred back to the left wing, with the thought that his échelon attack from that flank was appropriate in the circumstances. Meanwhile, the Horse Artillery having reached the left of the infantry line, Lieutenant Smith spurred up the high parapet of the bank opposite Nareja village, to see where the guns could be brought to bear most effectively; his devotion was not in vain, for before he fell dead he pointed the way for them to pass between the village and the Fuleli.

Sir Charles now galloped up from the rightwing, just as Major Poole, at the head of Her Majesty's 22nd, having fired a single volley at forty yards distance, was on the point of storming the first entrenchment. The General pressed his horse into the foremost ranks with a shout, and amid a hail of matchlock balls from the bank beyond they bore down into the canal, to be attacked in flank by knots of swordsmen(12). On the right of the 22nd, the 25th Bombay Native Infantry followed their example; there was no hesitation, and the issue of the hand to hand combat which ensued was not long in doubt: for the striving masses of Balochis, penned in a trench only six yards wide, and pressed back by the impetus of the charge, lost the advantage of numbers: there was hardly room to wield a sword, or parry with their shields the close line of bayonets springing from that living wall of red-coats. Those that fell were trodden under foot, and served to ease the ascent of the further bank for the assailants, who struggled up it, contending every foot with a fresh line of swordsmen, who slashed at them from above. Once more the bayonet prevailed; and as the surviving Balochis fell back, pressed on and down into a second far wider and deeper entrenched canal in and behind which the defenders were massed in double strength. Here the fury of the combat reached a yet

12. Life II, 351.

higher pitch: to the left and right the Mir's guns continued to fire, but everything depended on the outcome of the struggle in the centre. The Balochis never gained the upper hand, though the British line grew ever thinner: now on the right of the 25th the artillery under Hutt advanced to the edge of the first entrenchment, dealing fearful destruction at point blank range among Sher Mahomed's reserves; but the Baloch guns were not silenced till captured by the infantry. To Hutt's right again, the Second Infantry Brigade came into action, supported by Whitlie's battery. Those whose advance brought them opposite the ramps left by the Balochis for the passage of their own guns soon forced their way over them, penetrating the defenders' last line.

By this time Mir Sher Mahomed had left the field,—to fight again another day—on the advice of Hosh Mahomed Kambrani, who at the head of a devoted band of fellow servants of Mir Sobdar Khan, yielded not an inch of ground, but fighting to the last man, died where they stood.

While this hand to hand struggle raged in the centre, the cavalry of the left wing were ordered by Napier to turn the village, and did so with comparatively little loss; they were followed by the Horse Artillery, for whom the indefatigable Henderson with his Sappers had cut a way down into the bed of the Fuleli.

Nareja Village remained unsubdued: behind breastworks, and in its loopholed houses,was a strong force of tribesmen on whom fell back many of those who had been dislodged from their entrenchments by the irresistable 22nd. The latter emerging on the plain, now brought up their right shoulders, and plunged into the village with undiminished resolution. The 25th N.I. conformed to their movement, and on their right again the 21st N. I. swept round in a vigorous charge, marked by heavy carnage.

The Mir's line was now entirely cut in two, and the left offered little resistance to the advance of the 12th, 8th and 1st Grenadiers: but the latter had to hold their fire, as the British Cavalry of the right wing were seen immediately to their front, driving the retreating Balochis in front of them. For the same reason the Artillery, with the exception of Leslie's Troop on the extreme left flank, were now compelled to cease fire.

The combat in the village was fierce and confused; a magazine blew up close to Napier while he was endeavouring to reform the infantry; though several were killed around him, he was unscathed. At length the surviving Balochis were expelled, and fell back sullenly, before the wheeling advance of the 21st could completely surround Nareja. The General emerging at the head of the victorious infantry, now put himself at the head of the Bengal Cavalry and Poona Horse, and pursued the retreating masses for several miles, inflicting heavy punishment; but not without loss to themselves, Captain Garrett of the Bengal Cavalry being among those killed. This pursuit prevented the defeated Balochis from gaining the line of the Indus, which they might have crossed to make head again with their brethren in the hill country: they were driven on to the swords of Stack's brigade which, after shattering Sher Mahomed's left wing by their charge, had then chased his horsemen, kept in reserve as at Miani, clean off the field: two of the officers had actually sighted Mir Sher Mahomed himself in full flight, and could probably have captured him, when Colonel Pattle overtook them, and considering that the cavalry had become too dispersed, stopped their pursuit. The Balochis were by now scattered to the four winds, and Napier returned, to be greeted with three cheers, beginning from the sadly thinned ranks of the 22nd, and taken up by the whole of the infantry, who were now drawn up in two lines south of Nareja village, at right angles to the original direction of the attack.

The General sent his wounded into Hyderabad, and ordered injured Balochis also to be collected and given medical aid: then he sat down to write his despatch. Its last words read: "I have every reason to believe that not another shot will be fired in Scinde."

But he reckoned without the tenacity and popularity of Sher Mahomed.

PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE.

All accounts of the battle of Hyderabad, in the various Lives of Sir Charles Napier, and Histories of Armies and Regiments, follow more or less closely that given by Sir William Napier in "The Conquest of Scinde"; which, as far as it is possible to ascertain, is much more accurate than his description of Miani.

The battle aroused less interest than Napier's first victory, which had been won against much greater odds, when far more was at stake: and it is natural that there should be fewer first-hand accounts of Hyderabad: Major Waddington, for instance, does not seem to have thought it worthy of a companion-piece to his pamphlet on Miani.

I have not been able to find any original sources worth mention beyond the following:—

(a) Sir Charles Napier's despatch, and subsidiary returns (reproduced in Records of the Scinde Irregular Horse, Vol. I., pp. 30-33).

(b) References in Sir Charles Napier's journal and letters, quoted in "The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier. (Vol. II, pp. 350-352, 356, 358-364, 371., Vol. III., pp. 89, 110, 155, 169-170, 441, Vol. IV., 109-110, 304).

(c) Captain Henderson's account to the Adjutant Madras Sappers and Miners Bangalore, reproduced in Madras Artillery records Vol. VII (Miscellaneous).

I should add that almost contemporary descriptions or critiques of the battles of Miani and Hyderabad appeared in the Calcutta Review: an article on Miani in 1844 (Vol. I., page 236) and another dealing both with Dubba and Miani some years later, in Vol. VI, page 604.*

I must admit, with great regret, that I have not seen these, and do not know by whom they were written.

It is very disappointing that the letter in which John Jacob must have written a description of the battle to his father, does not seem to have been preserved in the family papers. The late Major General A. Le G. Jacob indeed told me that such a letter had in fact survived, until some years ago he sent it in original to Jacob's Horse, unfortunately without keeping a copy; and that it had thereafter disappeared. Neither Colonel K. de L. Young or Colonel B. M. Mahon, who recently commanded the Scinde Horse, recollect having seen such a letter, and it is possible that the General was thinking of the holograph letter on Miani, presented by him and preserved in the Scinde Horse Mess.

In the absence of independent accounts, it is not possible to write decidedly on certain details of the battle: though the general outline is clear enough.

* Mentioned in the Bibliography of Publications on Sind and Baluchistan, N. M. Billimoria, 1930.

William Napier and his successors all write as if Sir Charles launched his attack almost immediately after the reconnaissance, though between the two there was a cannonade lasting nearly an hour.

SINDHI SOURCES.

Baloch and Sindhi authors also seem to have taken less interest in the battle of Hyderabad than in Miani.

Mir Yar Mahomed, the author of "Frerenama" must have been in confinement in the steamer on the Indus on the day of the fight: his mention is of the briefest.

Munshi Awatrai had no concern with events after his master Mir Sobdar had been imprisoned: however, after his description of Miani he added "In the battle with Sher Mahomed, the Mir had also posted his army in a canal bed, but the event was the same. At first he kept the English at bay with his powerful artillery, but after a time Napier treated about 500 of his soldiers to copious draughts of liquor, and ordered them to storm the guns. Fired by this, the men advanced fearlessly and routed Sher Mahomed's men and captured his artillery. This account of the battle was related to me by the sons of Seth Tindanmal Shikarpuri whom Napier Saheb took with him, and were eye witnesses."

This is an amusing counter-blast to Napier's assertions, that the Balochis screwed up their courage with bhang!

Seth Naomal Hotchand dismisses the battle in a few words.

The poem on Dabba, given in سنڌ جا هير was probably composed by the same blind minstrel who sang of Miani. On this occasion, however, the author has little good to say of any of the warriors except Sher Mahomed himself, and Hosh Mahomed. From internal evidence, the poem must have been composed in 1848. As it is a good example of a Sindhi satirical ballad, I will reproduce it here:—

"The general was a brave soldier, and enlarged his camp.

Hearing of Mir Sher Mahomed, he took his guns with him, and gave him battle in the Town of Nareja. Brave men came forth from Mirpur, having well considered the matter; the warlike Chiefs rode along with bold Sher Mahomed, they came to Nareja, and there they fought. Sher Mahomed was a rock, the Mir was a strong mountain! As soon as he came, he killed the English in heaps; he settled with the English, did Mir Sher Mahomed. Clouds and waves of swords came on them from above,

no one can deny that Sher Mahomed fought a fine battle. Ahdi, son of Ali Murad, who was always successful, was shouting out "Kill them, O kill them." Sher Mahomed overturned the big bed of the English, and the whole bank of the Fuleli ran red with blood. He escaped with his life; the Mir was always successful. Now came Hosh Mahomed the Kambrani, and made an attack; coming into the entrenchments this bridegroom dealt out wounds: the Shidi gave up his breath. The Shidi was killed with one hundred men; no blame can attach to him. Victory is in the hands of God, and he gives it to whom he wills. The heroes never yielded: well done, lords, well done!

(Mulraj the Mahtar did not fall short: he stood fast, a man roused to anger. He gave battle at Multan; no one will deny honour to him. Mulraj became famous in the land; and smiling enjoys his fame. I am making known these deeds of Mulraj at Hyderabad).

Here the Laghari's watched the struggle—observe the conduct of the Thoras! First the Thoro Nawab fled: the wretch's face turned green. He brought dishonour on all the Thoras, the idle evil doer! His effort was not worth a cowrie, though he swallowed the Mir's bounty in lakhs and thousands. As to Ahmed Khan Laghari's behaviour just ask me and I'll tell you. He had neither a moustache on his face nor one hair of a beard. The children of false Ali Murad were sold into the mountains; he had not a scrap of honour, listen to the deeds of this leper! He drove not only his brothers, but his children into exile. Poets will speak the truth, although people are moved to wrath.

That a man's promises should not be broken, let the ways of disgrace and dishonesty be exposed fully!

Ghulam Mahomed Laghari fled to Kahanbra. Let us give him a red petticoat, and a spotted head-sheet, and a set of ivory bracelets for his arms: let us give him two nose rings, large and small, for his nose. He had made a promise to Mir Nasir Khan, but the coward absented himself. I, the poet, am speaking the truth to my own Mir.

Khan Mahomed slinks away and flies, leaving his palace, saying, "as long as God gives me life, may he preserve me from girding on the sword!" He jumped down into the

tamarisk jungle, and never looked behind. Dost Ali got stuck in the mud; with drooping lop-ears he said to Ahmed Khan, "Uncle, Friend, let us get away!" His mother was drowned in the Fuleli at that time.

Dost Mahomed Badhani fled: he floated away in the river. He made an oblation of half an anna, saying "the river God will protect me."

Jahan Khan son of Mahomed ran away. These cowards were useless. This crow hid himself and fled crouching; he did not set foot to the ground. He was as pot bellied as a grain-bin; he overate, and wasted good food.

Ghulam Shah Khatian was in the fight at that time. This good man was with the army when it was broken; when it was carried away like dust.

Here, in the grove of date-palms, the Katanhar flower had opened. The tents pitched were worth seeing, and the garden of flowers. Let us stew the cooking pots, while the brave men tell of their deeds. The Khans take this food in comfort, and make merry.

The fair faced and valiant cavaliers rode their horses. In the camp of Shahdadpur twenty-one thousand men are heard of.

They bring Mir Sher Mahomed, and are taking their daily rations. Seeing the heat of the sword, the cowards are rubbing their noses on the bround. "These men" says Ali, "Why do they not drown themselves?"

For a well-bred filly, one stroke of the whip is enough; but the slow pony gets thirsty. Give praise to the brave, and leave talking of cowards.

God will bind on Sher Mahomed the turban of Sind."

Another ballad by a Manghanhar named Mihru reproduced by Richard Burton in his "Scinde and the races that inhabit the valley of the Indus,"(13) which was sung throughout the country, invokes "a hundred thousand curses on the Thoro who set fire to his own gunpowder." This refers to the universal belief of

13. pp. 84-85.

the Balochis that the explosion of the magazine at Nareja, in the earlier stages of the battle, was due to the treachery of Mahomed Khan Thoro, and not, as was almost certainly the case, to a lucky shell from the British Artillery.

The legend persists, for when I last visited the battle field in August 1942, the people of Nareja village said that some traitor in Sher Mahomed's camp had told the British where to direct their fire. Mir Ali Bakhsh Khan Talpur ascribed the disaster to Mir Bijar Khan. The local tradition is that the Baluchis ran out of gunpowder in consequence, whereupon Hosh Mahomed Shidi advised Sher Mahomed to secure his own retreat while he led the defence. The Shidis, Nuhanis, and Bhurgris are said to have fought well, but the others indifferently. Sir William Napier makes mention only of the Lagharis and Nizamanis, as being entrenched in the village.(14)

Sher Mahomed's vakils, who came to Napier to offer him the Mir's sword when he was on the march to Bahawalpur early in 1846, told him that the Mir had taken up his station, near Nareja village, and that the movement noticed by the British early on in the battle, of crowds hurrying to their right, was of chiefs with their followers hastening to receive their last orders from him.

The Sind Gazetteer quotes a Persian manuscript (15) by one of the retinue of the Aga Khan, in which the battle is thus mentioned, "When they (the Baluchis) were hemmed in by the British soldiers on the one hand and cannonade on the other, they gave expression to words, of course in heir own language, which distinctly hit off their character. When translated they stand as follows—"these rascals do not give us time even to steam ourselves with the hookah."

INDIVIDUAL EXPLOITS.

The undaunted courage of Hosh Mahomed Kambrani has already been mentioned. It was warmly praised by Sir Charles Napier and his brother, who in his Life of Sir Charles Napier writes thus of him: "Heroic in strength of body and mind this brave man and his brother slaves——————at Dubba, fighting with unbounded fury, fell to the last man under the bayonets of the 22nd Regiment." Sir Charles also alluded to him in his despatch as "the great promoter of this war."

To another soldier of Sher Mahomed—an artillery man—was accorded the honour of being, for aught I know to the contrary, the first "unknown warrier." Napier ordered his body to be removed from the battle field to the Fort at Hyderabad

14. Conquest p. 387. 15. Sind Gazetteer, Aitken, 1907, p. 153.

and placed this inscription over his tomb: "This monument marks the last resting place of one of the Ameer's soldiers who was killed in the battle of Hyderabad, whilst bravely fighting the gun placed over his tomb."

On the British side, there were many gallant exploits. Mention has been made of Lieut. Smith's heroic devotion: and Napier's despatch also recorded how the intrepid Lieutenant Coote, of Her Majesty's 22nd, "first mounted the rampart, seized one of the enemy's standards, and was severely wounded while waving it and cheering on his men." As to feats of swordsmanship, the encounter of Lieut. Nixon with a Baloch Chief, and MacMurdo's three successive triumphs in single combat, in the last of which he was wounded, are described with boyish gusto by Sir Charles. But for cool courage in the midst of the enemy, none surpassed the General himself. As has been seen, he was throughout the heat of the fight with the 22nd, who bore the brunt of it. His orderly dragoon's horse was cut down behind him, and the hilt of his sword struck by a ball; in Nareja village a magazine blew up close to him, bringing death to many, but left him untouched: no Baloch assailed him, though he was at times almost alone among them. The fortune of Miani followed him.

The best testimony to the magic of Napier's leadership, which bred heroes, was the fact(16) that six men of the 22nd concealed the wounds they received in the battle, thinking there would be more fighting; they had to fall out in a long hot march, when two of them were found to have been shot through both legs.

NUMBERS ENGAGED AND CASUALTIES ON EITHER SIDE.

Napier's Army at the battle of Hyderabad numbered about 5,000, but so far as I am aware, no field-state for the 24th March, giving the strength of the units engaged, is available: nor even such unofficial estimates as those of writers on Miani. I have been unable to ascertain even what troops were told off to guard the baggage, which Lieut. Leeson is commended for marshalling close up to the line. Sir W. Napier states that of the 5,000, about 1,100 were cavalry. The newcomers, the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, numbered just under 300 sabres. Of the two infantry battalions that had joined since Miani, the 8th mustered 818 men, and the 21st must have been almost equally strong: it is also necessary to assume that, with the addition of Leslie's Troop

16. Life II, 371.

and the 2nd Coy. 1st battalion, Bombay Artillery, the gunners were at least double the number present at Miani, to reach the combined total of five thousand. It is evident that Napier deserves great credit for bringing into the field every effective man he could find. One lesson of Miani he had learned "No general ought to detach even a tailor before a battle."(17)

In passing, I must call attention to an error in dates by which the simultaneous arrival of the reinforcements from Karachi and Sukkur by river is assigned to the 23rd March. This originated with Sir Charles himself, in a letter to his brother dated 16th April, 1843.(18) Sir William must not be blamed for making the most of this dramatic incident, according to which men, guns and stores were landed, organized, and brigaded, and launched against Sher Mahomed all within twenty four hours. But the same cannot be said for latter writers, such as Rice Holmes: for Napier's journal (19), embodied in the "Life" shows plainly that these reinforcements reached him on the 21st March, when he was beginning to be anxious about the progress of Stack's Brigade.

The strength of Sher Mahomed's army as stated in the despatch, was 20,000. Napier wrote some days afterwards (20) that he gave this figure "to keep bounds" but that all his spies concurred in saying that the Mir had more than 26,000: and this figure was without more ado adopted by his brother.

Sir Patrick Cadell, in his History of the Bombay Army, says "an estimate of 16,000 would seem more nearly correct"— I do not know on what this is based.

The total British casualties were a little higher than at Miani; but the killed numbered only 39, of whom two were officers, as compared with 62 including six officers in the former battle. Considerably over half the 270 casualties were sustained by Her Majesty's 22nd, which had 23 men killed, and five officers and 119 other ranks wounded. The 21st and 25th Bombay N. I. came next, with thirty and twenty-five casualties respectively, only seven being killed between them. Lieut. Burr, of the 21st, who was severely wounded, died some days after the battle and lies buried in Hyderabad Fort. Among the cavalry the Poona Horse had three men killed, and an officer and seventeen men wounded, with seven horses killed and eight wounded;

17. Life II.p. 339.
18. Life II, p. 362.
19. Life II, p. 349.
20. p. 364.

the Scinde Horse had eighteen men wounded and thirteen horses killed. The Bengal and Bombay cavalry came off lightly, with more casualties among their horses than the men; and the losses among the other units were trifling.

These figures sufficiently attest the part played by the Cheshires in the action.

Of the losses of Sher Mahomed's lashkar, it is difficult to speak. In his despatch, written on the day of the battle, Napier says:—"500 bodies have been counted on the field of battle, and it is said that the neighbouring villages are filled with dead and wounded men." Among the chiefs killed were Ghulam Ali Talpur, Ali Khan Talpur and Jaffar Khan Marri. The two Talpurs were, I think, collaterals of the main line of the Manikanis. Napier says that he learnt from Sher Mahomed's vakils on the occasion already mentioned, that "five princes of the Talpur house fell at Dubba, with an immense number of minor chiefs." Sir William, with his peculiar flair for improving on the truth, says, "the vanquished lost about 5,000.....

.....Eight hundred bodies were lying in the nullahs and at Dubba, but all the villages and lanes beyond the latter place were so filled with dead and dying, that to avoid them the army was forced to encamp on the ground it occupied before. the action commenced. All the fallen Baloochis were of mature age, grim visaged men of athletic forms, the carcass of a youth was not to be found."

When some years later Sir William produced a further panegyric of his brother, entitled "The Administration of Scinde," and again gave five thousand as the number of Sher Mahomed's Army killed at Dubba, John Jacob, who wrote and publishesd "notes" corrective of the manifold errors in this work, writes laconically in reference to this "more correctly, two thousand." Sir John Fortescue, the Historian of the British Army, on the contrary writes that the Baluch losses at Dubba were twice as great as Miani(21); a most absurd statement which does not deserve discussion. The duration of the close fighting was far shorter than at Miani, and it was really confined to only a part of their line.

Among the Baluch losses, whatever they may have been, were 8 men taken prisoner: a matter of satisfaction to Napier, who was shocked by the mutual refusal of quarter at Miani.

21. Vol. XII p. 299.

QUESTIONS AND DISCREPANCIES CONNECTED WITH THE BATTTLE, AND NAPIER'S GENERALSHIP.

The principal unsolved question of the battle of Hyderabad is the responsibility for the charge of the cavalry on the right wing, which, though not deciding the victory, undoubtedly opened the way to it. Writing in July 1843 to Sir George Arthur,(22) Napier says: "I am sadly vexed at having said in my despatch that Major Stack led the brilliant cavalry charge at Dubba: it was Captain Delamain, whose modesty is so great that he never said a word on the subject. I am not in charity with Stack for allowing me to mistake his report, if I did mistake, on that charge." This however does not touch the point, who gave the order?

As already observed, no letter of Jacob describing the battle appears to be in existence: nor have I knowledge of any other bearing on this particular question. In reporting Jacob's death, the "Homeward Mail" of January 4th, 1859, gives the credit of this brilliant movement to him: "when large masses of the enemy showed an appearance of wavering, Lieut. Jacob seized the critical moment, and charged with such fury as to convert the enemy's movement into a flight, and the Scinde Horse and the rest of the cavalry sabred the fugitives for miles."

Jacob, says Sir Charles,(23) relying upon gossip at the time when they became estranged, used to say that he had done more for Napier than Napier had done for him: but Jacob's first public statement of their relations, in a letter to the Bombay Times, written after considerable provocation in October 1851, passes over the events of the war in Sind in a few words, seemingly taking it for granted that his services were too well known to need re-statement.

For the present, then, though perhaps not for ever, this interesting detail must remain undecided.

Sir J. Fortescue, though stating that the details of the action are exceedingly obscure, curiously enough missed this point, simply giving the whole credit to Stack; while puzzling himself over a remark of Sir William Napier's that Leslie's Horse Artillery, on gaining the extreme left flank, were able to enfilade the Balochis' left wing, hitherto concealed "from end to end."

22. Life II, p. 402.
23. Life III, p. 456.

Fortescue says: "if his account of the Baluchi line be correct, the range must have been very long for round shot, and impossible for grape. Possibly Leslie fired shrapnel, but for this he would need howitzers, and there was only one howitzer to each battery." Two eight inch howitzers had infact reached Napier with his reinforcements, and he had had two 24 pound and two twelve pound howitzers at Miani.

In sober fact, the range from Leslie's position opposite the right of the Baluch line to their extreme left would have been over a mile; and the obvious conclusion, is that Sir William Napier had permitted himself to exaggerate somewhat the effort of Leslie's fire.

WAS NAPIER AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF NAREJA VILLAGE BEFORE HE ATTACKED?

Rice Holmes draws attention to the discrepancy between two statements of Sir Charles on this point, in appendix P. of his book, "Sir Charles Napier"; he might have added a third(24). He was fortunate in being able to consult a survivor of the battle on the point. Sir Montagu McMurdo replied "When we formed up on the plain, we judged the situation of the village by the high trees about it (as Katri at Meeanee). But we could see little, if anything at all, of the low mud houses, because of the extraordinarily high bank thrown up in deepening and scarping the double canal."

The strength and difficulty of these natural entrenchments struck Napier particularly on his last visit to the battle field, in 1851 although "the ditches and their banks are lessened; they were made up and widened for the battle, and their slopes were steeper:.....I doubt my own resolution, had I been aware of their tremendous strength; but I was not, until my horse was on the edge and there was no choice but to shove him down. How we shoved down, or up again on the opposite banks, I know not....(25)."

Of his men, Napier wrote "At Meeanee they showed hesitation and wonder: at Dubba they were like cucumbers. As to myself, I felt a different man, my confidence in the soldiers and in myself being complete; I felt at ease, and could have changed my whole order of battle in the fight had it been wanted."(26)

24. Life III,p. 370.
25. LifeIV, p. 304.
26. Life II, p. 352.

Fortescue considered that the storming of Nareja village (by him called Dabo) was "quite unnecessary." Napier himself felt that he might have done better, as he frankly admitted to his brother: "I will answer your questions about Dubba, namely;—Could you have menaced Dubba with your left, and pushed the cavalry of your right, sustained with some guns and infantry, towards the wood where you suspected the ambush; then passing the nullah with your left(?) and centre have driven the enemy in a confused heap on Dubba, where your left was holding them in check?

This is nearly what did happen, but by accident, though I at first thought of it, for Blenheim came into my mind where something of the kind happened. While examining the enemy's line I was under fire of guns directed at my large staff, and one shot went close to my face and into the heart of a 22nd grenadier. This did not help thought, though it did not much disturb it; but what most annoyed me was that the men were under a cannonade the moment we formed line, and it would not have done to go back then, no, not for ten yards. Even a seeming hesitation would have been bad. All the houses of the village were loopholed and perfectly concealed in front, but were open to the river, and by a bold examination of their right, this would have been discovered; an ablerman would have done so. It was a fault that cost many lives, and would have given me deep regret had it arisen from carelessness; but it was only want of experience in command. Henceforth my care shall be to closely examine an enemy's flanks."

Such naiveté really disarms criticism: and casualties at the rate of one in twenty are not a heavy price to pay, for beating odds of four to one. A victory in which the enemy is scattered to the winds, after suffering severe casualties, and losing the whole of his artillery, is ordinarily to be styled as crushing; and all the more honour is due to Mir Sher Mahomed and the Balochis who rallied to him thereafter, for continuing the struggle after such a lesson.

The guns taken numbered eleven, of which three were brass, and in good order.(27) One of these latter, nearly six feet in length, had from a good position on the right of the Baloch line, inflicted a good deal of loss on the British. The iron guns were

27. S. I. H. Records Vol. I. p. 33.

all very inferior, uneven in bore, and much corroded: however, their carriages showed signs of recent repair, and they were fitted with elevating screws. Eight out of the eleven guns had a bore less than three inches, and the remaining three were under four inches.

Among other trophies of the fight, nineteen standards were taken, the majority of them by Her Majesty's 22nd; one is specially mentioned, a silver knobbed standard captured by Corporal Tim Kelly, who shot the defender.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE FIELD OF HYDERABAD (DUBBA) A CENTURY AFTER THE BATTLE.

Before entering upon a description of the ground where the battle was fought, a word is due to its name.

Sir William Napier says: "This memorable battle, fought thirty five days after Meeanee, and within a few miles from that field, bears three names, Dubba, Naraja, and Hyderabad: the first from the village, the second from the plain, the third from the city near which it was fought. The last is the one by which it must be known, being that which is inscribed on the colours and medals of the gallant soldiers by whom it was won."(28)

In actual fact, Nareja is the name of the village, while the district is called Duabo *scilicet* two waters, from the streams of the Indus and Fuleli, once a natural branch of the Indus, which pass through it—this name appears to have been corrupted to Dubba by the earlier writers, but refined by Rice Holmes to Dabo. There is a place called Duábo, about three miles E.S.E. from Nareja: it gets its name from two canals from the Fuleli between which it is situated. But it is some distance from the battle field.

Sir Charles wrote "We don't like to call our battle Dubba because the skins of grease in this country are called dubbas. All the boys were horrified at the name, and McMurdo rode about, bleeding like a pig from his wound, after the battle, to find another village to calle after: Lord Ellenborough has settled it for us—*Hyderabad*." (29) In truth, the village which was the key of the Baluch position was at the time, and still is, called, Nareja: there is no village of Dubba, and one wonders why the

28. Conquest, p. 391.
29. Life III, p. 155.

battle could not have been called by the obviously appropriate name. We call Marlborough's first great victory Blenheim, from the village which was included in the French line, though on the continent it is known as Hochstadt, from a town three miles from the field: an analogy for "Hyderabad," but not for "Dubba." The people of Sind speak of the battle as "Nareja" or perhaps more often "Sher Mahomed's fight."

Another perversion of terminology is that by which the entrenchments occupied by the Baloch army are styled, by all writers including Rice Holmes, as "nullahs." Residents in India do not need to be informed that this word indicates a natural water-course, generally a broken and irregular gash in the soil, or the stony bed of an occasional torrent—with which the officers from the Deccan or Gujerat who formed the bulk of Napier's Army were familiar: but the extensive artificial irrigation of Sind being new to their experience, they loosely applied the word they knew best to what were nothing more or less than canals.

This criticism is not made in a spirit of pedantry: for Fortescue, rendering the word "nullah" correctly as "ravine" in his description, innocently calls up an entirely erroneous picture of the field.*

General McMurdo, as we have seen, uses the correct English word for them; but if we must employ Indian nomenclature, let it be the appropriate Sindhi "Wah" or "Karia."

Since the canals in Sind are cut out of the dead level plain, the soil originally removed forms no inconsiderable bank on either side of them: but this is added to by the silt which, deposited in them with every inundation, has to be cleared out annually. The older the canal, the higher its banks will be above the general level. The artificial channels dug from the old Fuleli above Hyderabad, which in Napier's own words "intercept the flat country for miles, and at every mile, like a grating" probably date, many of them, from the time of the Kalhoras. The traveller passing from Hyderabad to Mirpur Khas today will notice them: long embankments of white earth, rising to twelve or fifteen feet above the plain;—doubtless higher than in 1843; the majority of them derelict, superseded by the new Barrage canals and water-courses, which are desinged to flow on a gradient which keeps the deposit of silt to minimum, thus eliminating the need for annual clearance.

* Napier himself uses the word 'Ravine' on one occasion, Life II, p. 350.

Another well-known feature of the old irrigation system of Sind arose from the insistence by large zemindars on having exclusive sources of water supply for their lands. Two or more "karias" will be found running parallel and close together for miles, from the point where they take off from the main canal.

It was two of these that Mir Sher Mahomed selected for his position, the smaller one, known as Khair Wah, being occupied by the front line as far as the point marked B on Napier's map*, and thereafter continuing unoccupied opposite the British right wing. The first mile of Khair-Wah was abandoned as a canal many years ago and now does duty as a cart track. The larger canal running behind it, up to this point B, sheltered the second line of the Balochis, and from thence bending away at an obtuse angle was held by their left wing: this is called Imam Wah Husri, and was in use until 1932. Even now, it presents much the same appearance as at the time of the battle, deep and wide, with steep banks inside. The country people told me its upper portion was called Sobdar Wah: perhaps in memory of the gallant servants of the Mir of that name who fell there.

The subsidiary defences of the position, mentioned by Sir William Napier, and shown on his map, were also improvised from smaller channels behind Nareja village, the names of two of them, Boledai Wah and Rind Wah, still surviving. The modern revenue survey map indeed shows a most remarkable resemblance to the contemporary plan: but changes are rapidly taking place. Year by year the local zemindars are cutting away more and more of the bank of these old channels, using the rich silt for levelling and improving their lands, so that identification of every part of the position may soon become impossible.

The field is also traversed by a new Barrage canal, the Husri Distributary, which cuts into the lower part of the Khair Wah, and by the main North Western Railway line running West to East about two miles South of Nareja. This latter was about the line of the charge of the Cavalry of Napier's right wing.

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* The plan illustrating this paper is that given by Rice Holimes in his Life of Sir Charles Napier. The point B should be obvious from the description. Nareja village is shown as Dabo, another misleading *feature is the indication of some hills to* the N. W., copied from the earlier plan. These were at most sand hills.

The "wood" on this side of the battle field which gave Napier so much anxiety no longer seems to exist: it must have been roughly where Tando Hyder village is now.

The northern end of the battle field has retained its character almost unchanged. The bed of the Fuleli is partially cultivated near the village since its supersession by barrage canals, but is still well-marked and deep, and about 20 yards wide. There is however no trace of the Shikargah on its further bank, while on the nearer bank a mango grove occupies what was at the time of the battle open plain not far in front of Nareja.

The village itself is said to be smaller than it was a century ago. But there are the same low mud houses, interspersed with trees, tucked away behind the high banks of the double canal and invisible from in front of it, though open on the other three sides.

The banks and beds of the canals are much overgrown with jungle, but there are still portions which give a perfect idea of their state at the time of the battle. In one of these, about 400 yards south of the village, is situated the tomb of Hosh Mahomed Kambrani. It is on the further or eastern bank of the larger canal: a plain structure of yellow stone with no inscription, the plinth carved in simple designs. Close by are two tombs made of brick, where men of the Nuhani tribe who fell by Hosh Mahomed's side are buried.

Opposite this point, some three hundred yards in the direction from which Napier attacked is the British memorial of the battle. It is plain obelisk, surrounded by guns sunk in the ground. The inscription reads,

To
The Memory
of those
who fell in the battle of Dubba on the
24th March 1843, and who were buried
near this spot.

Lieut. J. C. Smith	Horse Artillery
Captain Garret	9th Bengal Cavalry
One drummer,	21st Regiment, N. I.

Rank and File.

3rd Bombay Cavalry	1
Poona Horse	3
Her Majesty's 22nd Foot	23
1st Grenadier N. I.	2
12th Regiment N. I.	1
21st Regiment N. I.	3
25th Regiment N. I.	3

Close to the monument are two very large "Kandi" trees, which may well have been growing at the time of the battle.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS:

The present designations(30) of the units which fought under Napier at Miani have been given in the first half of this paper. Of those which took part only in the battle of Hyderabad, the 8th Bombay Native Infantry later served in the Afghan War of 1878, the Great War of 1914-1918 and the Arab Rebellion of 1920. In 1922 it was designated the 3rd battalion 4th Bombay Grenadiers. It was disbanded in 1930.

The 21st Bombay Native Infantry partially mutinied at Karachi in 1857—one of the very few Bombay Regiments to do so and was disbanded next year.

The 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry fought in Persia, the Mutiny, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, China, the Great War, and the Afghan War of 1919; and from 1921-22 were merged with their old comrades of Hyderabad as the 17th Q. V. O. Poona Horse.

The 1st Troop Bombay Horse Artillery is with us as N. Horse Battery R.A., and the 2nd Company First Battalion Bombay Artillery is now the 15th Field Battery R.A.

Those corps which under the Governor-General's Order of 5th March, had been permitted to bear the word "Hyderabad, 1843" on their appointments, Standards, and colours were now authorised to substitute "Meanee"; "Hyderabad" being granted to all who took part in the second battle, under a General Order of April 11th.

30. Caddell, History of the Bombay Army, Appendix II.

A special distinction was reserved for Leslie's Horse Battery. The Governor-General having taken into consideration the peculiar merits of the 1st troop of the Bombay Horse Artillery, under Major Leslie, which having participated in the distinguished services of the army of Candahar, under His Excellency Major-General Sir W. Nott, G.C.B., and having returned to India with the troops from Cabool, marched from the camp at Ferozepore early in January, and joined the Army of Scinde in time to decide, in conjunction with H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, the battle of Hyderabad, is pleased to order that the 1st Troop of the Bombay Horse Artillery shall hereafter for ever be denominated the 1st or "Leslie's" Troop of Horse Artillery, and shall in addition to all other decorations or inscriptions upon its appointments, bear the "Eagle."

The Honours for individuals' services appeared in a Gazette of 4th July, 1843. Napier himself was advanced from a Knight Commander to the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath.

Outram received the Companionship of the Order, and with him twenty four other officers; of the Staff, Lieut. Colonel Pattle, second-in-command; Majors McPherson and Waddington, Captains Green, Wyllie, and Blenkins: Four of H.M.'s 22nd, Lieut. Col. Pennefather, Major Poole, Captains George and Conway: Four of the Artillery: Majors Lloyd and Leslie, Captains Whitlie and Willoughby; Major Storey and Captain Tucker of the 9th Cavalry; Major Stack and Captain Delamain of the 3rd Cavalry: Major Browne commanding the 8th N. I.; Major Reid and Captain Fisher of the 12th N. I., Major Stevens of the 21st N. I., and Major Woodburn and Jackson of the 25th N. I. Most of these received brevet promotion at the same time.

It does not seem that these awards were entirely in accordance with Napier's recommendations: he says "there are gross mistakes about the C.B., but it cannot be helped."(31). It was also published in Orders that the conduct of Captains Jacob and Tait was considered to have entitled them to honorary distinction, which could not be conferred on them at the time on account of their want of rank. "His Grace the Commander in Chief has however announced his intention of recommending both these officers for the brevet rank of Major and for the Companionship of the Order of the Bath, after they shall have been promoted to the regimental rank of Captain."

31. Life II, p. 420.

Tait duly became C.B. in February 1846, and, in the same Gazette, Captain Hutt of the Artillery and Captain Henderson of the Madras Sappers, who had been specially recommended by Napier in a letter to Lord Ellenborough, written in September 1843(32): but Jacob had to wait till 1850, for reasons which need not be entered into here.

Taking a last view of the battle of Hyderabad, I am inclined to think that Mir Sher Mahomed, or his advisors, made the dispositions for battle in the light of the lessons of Miani, to avoid the faults of Nasir Khan's position. In the first place, all the guns were placed behind the entrenchments instead of in the open in front of the line as at Miani. They could not, therefore, be put out of action in the preliminary bombardment, but as we know were served gallantly and continued to fire until the British had stormed the first entrenchments with the bayonet.

Secondly, the posting of the Mir's foot soldiers was a great improvement on Miani. At that battle, the Fulelip rotected the Baluch host only until the British line reached its edge: thereafter they were completely open to the British musketry, and had to climb up the bank to counter attack. At the battle of Hyderabad, though men were posted in the bed of the first canal, it seems that they were a sort of "forlorn hope" whose duty was to take in flank those who stormed it, the main strength was drawn up behind, so that Napier's men had to do the climbing to get at them.

In his despatch, Sir Charles wrote: "The Baloochee infantry and artillery fought well; their cavalry made no stand, and 5,000 disciplined soldiers were not to be long resisted by a barbarian force, even though that force were nearly five to one." This puts the business in a proper light. Sir William Napier's estimate of his brother's achievements is vitiated by his tendency to endow the Baloch tribesmen with all the qualities of Napoleon's "grognards" and to put Sher Mahomed on a par with Masséna. Descending somewhat from this pitch of absurdity, (under the influence of which Sir William seems to have speculated whether Hosh Mahomed could not have been a spiritual, if not a natural, descendant of the French Revolutionary General Hoche(33) it is a mistake as I have already pointed out, in writing on Miani, to compare Napier's battles with those won —sometimes the winning was doubtful—against European

32. Life, II, p. 437.
33. Conquest, p. 379.

trained Marathas and Sikhs. Once we turn to the pages of Orme, we find truer parallels: if it is suggested that the Balochis were tougher than the opponents of Clive, Stringer Lawrence, and Forde, we should remember that the hosts they routed generally contained a nucleus of Frenchmen; and if we pass on to Cutwa and Buxar, we find that odds of seven to one, European artillery, positions of immense strength, and Rohilla cavalry who had the courage to charge home were of no avail against disciplined troops, led with the skill and determination of Adams and Hector Munro.

The truth is, that a Baloch Host in the plains was incapable of manoevering; but if Napier had chosen to lead his army round Sher Mahomed's left flank and fallen on their rear, he would have gained nothing but their artillery: the tribesmen would have dispersed, as soon as they saw their flank was turned, would have plundered the countryside, including perhaps the town ofHyderabad, and would have remained a thorn in Napier's flesh. Very properly, he seized the opportunity of attacking them in a position in which he could hope that they would wait for him, and be soundly beaten: and so it fell out; though as Sher Mahomed escaped, and there were among the Balochis men of remarkable tenacity and loyalty, the blow was not final.

Let Sir Charles Napier's own words close our account of his two splendid victories—the words of the speech he made when presenting new colours to his own Regiment, Her Majesty's 22nd Foot, at Ambala in November 1850:(34)

"Shall I ever forget the strong and lofty entrenchments of Dubba—where the 22nd advanced in line unshaken, a living wall! and under a murderous fire stormed the works! There those honoured old colours of which we have just taken leave; bravely borne forward by their Ensigns Bowden and Blake, one of whom Lieut. Bowden I see before me bearing them this day, but in higher rank, were in a few minutes seen to wing triumphantly aloft amidst the combatants on the summit.

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34. Records of the Indian Command of Sir Charles Napier (Appendix).

Men of Meeanee! you must remember with exultation and with pride what a view burst upon your sight when under a heavy fire you reached the bank of the river, a hurl of shields and Scindian capped and turbaned heads and flashing scimatars high brandished in the air, spread as a sea before you, and 35,000 valiant warriors of Baloochistan threatening you with destruction! Then the hostile armies closed and clashed together and desperate combats thickened along the line! The superb 9th Cavalry of Bengal and the renowned Sinde Horse—the dark chivalry of India burst as a thundercloud charging into the dry bed of the torrent, driving the foe before them! At that moment a terrible cry arose on the right! It was the dreadful British shout of battle! It began with the 22nd and was reechoed from right to left from Regiment to Regiment along the line! Lines of levelled bayonets now gleamed charging through the smoke, and the well-fought field of Meeanee was your own!"

III.—PIR ARI.

Napier followed up the victory of Hyderabad by the bloodless capture of Sher Mahomed's capital, Mirpur, and the fort of Umarkot: but he was disappointed in his supposition that the Mir, being cut off from any "base," in the Desert, would flee to the Panjab. The Mir kept the field, and though he had very little money to pay his men, the country people supplied him with grain of their own free will, and moreover kept him perfectly informed as to the proceedings of the British troops, from whom they concealed his plans and movements.(1)

Napier had been allowed to send the captive Talpurs out of the country, and they were removed to Bombay at the end of April, on the last day of which the General, leaving troops at Umarkot, Mirpur and Tando Allahyar, the whole under command of John Jacob, took up his quarters in the palace of Mir Nasir Khan. But with Sher Mahomed at large, the conquest of Sind was by no means complete: and on May 1st he was reported to have collected ten thousand men. He made several offers to come in, on such conditions as that his treasure would be spared; but Napier would hear of nothing but unconditional surrender: and his troops being for some time immobilised for want of camels, a deadlock set in. The General was also anxious lest his movements should thereafter be hampered by the inundation; and worse than all, the heat was becoming insupportable.

A further unpleasant possibility was that the tribes West of the Indus would cross the river and join Sher Mahomed. As early as March 5th,(2) Napier had received information that the Chandias were crossing the river from Sehwan and Larkana to join the Mir, and he had given orders to Col. Roberts, in command at Sukkur, to "stir up the Chandias at home" if he felt strong enough: while Ali Murad had his orders to plunder them. Sometime afterwards Wali Mahomed, Chief of the Chandia tribe, who had been close on Napier's rear before Miani with a large lashkar, had been seized by Napier's dubious ally, Mir Ali Murad, and by him sent prisoner to the General. To the disgust of the Mir and the astonishment of Wali Mahomed, Napier told the old Chief that he was free to go home; whereupon he made all speed back to his country under the Western hills, vowing that he would repay Napier's clemency with steady loyalty to the British(3). This could not have happened at a more opportune

1. Jacob, quoted by Outram Commentary p. 448.
2. Life 31, p. 343. 8. Life II, p. 382.

time; Wali Mahomed was by far the most influential Chief in North Western Sind, and many who hitherto may have been inclined as a point of honour to strike a blow against the Feringhi were disarmed by such generosity to a faithful subject of the Talpurs, from the man who had treated the rulers themselves with uncompromising sternness.

Napier says (4) that Shah Mahomed, younger brother of Sher Mahomed sent him a letter some time before the battle of Hyderabad offering to assassinate Sher Mahomed, and that he forthwith forwarded this letter to the intended victim, warning him to be on his guard.

There seems strong reason to doubt whether the letter was authentic: for at some time after the battle, when Sher Mahomed's cause was desperate, he committed his family to the care of Shah Mahomed, who crossed the river and installed them in Rani Kot, a remarkable fortress which Mir Karam Ali Khan had built some thirty years before, in an inaccessible gorge in the Lakhi Hills. It now became a first object to Napier to prevent Shah Mahomed from raising the country on that side, as if he was able to gather a strong force together and act in conjunction with his brother, even if he were unable to cross the river to join him, the war might be prolonged for months.

Napier therefore, at the beginning of May ordered Lieut. Col. Roberts to move down the right bank from Sukkur to Sehwan with a column of all arms, meanwhile sending an armed steamer of the Indian Navy(5), under the command of Captain Nott, up stream to Sehwan to chase away all boats that might be found, to prevent the Balochis crossing to the left bank. The General had hoped to be able to move against Sher Mahomed by the 15th, but was apprehensive of the inundation from the Indus, which he believed would cut him off from his base: he was at a loss to procure camels to carry five months' provisions, which he thought would have to be taken with the troops.

Meanwhile intelligence was received of more boats being collected by the tribes of the Lakhi hills for their passage, and Napier sent the "Satellite" steamer, with a detachment of sepoys under Lieut. Anderson to break up the "concentration." This, as described by Sir William Napier, was a smart little affair. (6)

4. Life II, p. 368 Conquest, p. 426.
5. Life II, p. 377.
6. Conquest p. 431.

The steamer reached the point where the river washes the base of a spur of the Lakhi range on the 27th May. Three hundred Balochis opened matchlock fire on her from the cliff, wounding Commander Miller. The guns of the steamer replied, and a party of sepoys were landed and drove off the Balochis with heavy loss, at a trifling cost to themselves. The boats collected by the tribesmen for their crossing were destroyed, and Anderson proceeded to Sehwan, which Colonel Roberts reached on the 29th after an uneventful march, with nearly 1,500 men made up of Captain Blood's battery of four guns, a troop of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry under Captain Walter, and detachments from the 6th, 15th and 20th Bombay Native Infantry.

The blow at Lakhi seems to have caused Shah Mahomed to repent momentarily of his association with the irreconcilables: Napier records in his Journal of June 1st that he had written to ask forgiveness. Nevertheless the Mir decided to advance:—whether from the impossibility of feeding two or three thousand men in the barren fastnesses of the Lakhi hills, or to secure the support of the powerful Rind tribe, the hereditary enemies of the Chandias: or merely, as Napier thought, "to see what Roberts is about and have credit for driving him away when he shall cross the river." Be this as it may, Shah Mahomed moved his lashkar down the valley of the Bandhni Nai and encamped at Pir Ari, within 15 miles of Sehwan. Nor was he inactive, for he had a successful skirmish with some horsemen of an adherent of Mir Ali Murad, who had been pacifying or taking charge of the country in their own fashion: several of them were made prisoners. But Shah Mahomed was now within Robert's reach.

Roberts' orders were to cross the Indus to the left bank on the night of the 9th June, to take his part in Napier's enveloping movement against Mir Sher Mahomed. But on the 7th, information was brought in of Shah Mahomed's move to Pir Ari, and was verified by Alif Khan Tehrin, the well-known ex-Rissaldar of the Baluch Levy, who had accompanied the column from Sukkur. Roberts determined to surprise the Mir, and at midnight on the 7th-8th June marched out to attack Shah Mahomed with Blood's battery, the troop of cavalry, three companies of the 6th Bombay N. I., and two each of the 15th and 20th N.I., about 900 men in all. At daybreak the force was marching south beside the wide sandy bed of the Bandhni Nai, full of tamarisk jungle; to the left the craggy heights of the Lakhi range rose dark against the sun, covering with their shadow some smal-

ler hills to the right, beyond which again swelled up the broad saddle-back of Badro, scarred with ravines. Soon they caught sight of the Mir's position, around a large oblong enclosure of fine trees, surrounded by a thick and almost impenetrable hedge. The Balochis appeared to be retreating, and Roberts ordered Captain Walter to lead his troop to the left to head them off from their retreat southwards, and if possible drive them across to the right, to which side the artillery and infantry were directed. Walter, taking Alif Khan with him, advanced with his handful of horsemen, and noticing large bodies of the Balochis dispersing to right and left, turned on a party of horse and foot about 250 strong, who were drawn up in rear of two guns close to the southern end of the grove. Before the Balochi gunners fired, the speed of Walter's charge had carried him past them, and plying the sword with vigour the cavalry made havoc of the astonished tribesmen; about eighty of them were killed before the rest, completely dispersed, found shelter in the jungle.

Meanwhile on the right, the infantry advanced steadily in échelon, led by the Light Company of the 20th, then Blood's battery with the right wing of the 15th, the whole supported by the Grenadier Company of the 20th and two companies of the 6th. The Balochis did not stand, and on gaining their position Roberts halted his main body, only pushing on the light company of the 20th in a vain attempt to establish contact. Meanwhile he ordered a party of the Grenadier Company to search the grove, which was found to be a burial ground: and Mir Shah Mahomed himself was found concealed with three or four servants in some thick undergrowth. On seeing the sepoys he raised his gun, and one of his followers drew his sword: the sepoys were about to fire on them when Shah Mahomed called out that he was the Mir, and Captain Fraser coming up at the time, delivered up his sword to him. A few minutes earlier, after the firing had ceased, a Baloch had jumped out of a bush and severely wounded Lieutenant Lancaster in the arm, being promptly shot before he could do more damage.

Roberts having thus brilliantly achieved his objects, marched back to Sehwan, taking with him Mir Shah Mahomed, seventeen prisoners, two cannon, a standard, and some horsemen of Mir Ali Murad, who had been captured by Shah Mahomed's men two days previously. The heat was by this time fearful, and before the column regained the Camp at Sehwan, at 1 p.m., two European Artillerymen had succumbed to sun stroke. In the

fight the losses of the victors were trifling, and apart from Lieut. Lancaster, fell entirely on the Troop of the 3rd Cavalry, who had two havildars and six troopers wounded,all but one severely, together with one horse killed and seven wounded. This gallant band in their charge inflicted the great majority of the casualties sustained by the Balochis, who left about 90 dead on the field. Four of them fell to the sword of Alif Khan Tehrin, who rode at Walter's side.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is nothing obscure about this little affair, and its results were just what Napier required. The Western tribes were deterred from attempting to join Sher Mahomed, and from any hostile enterprises on their own side of the river.

It remains only to say something of the ground: but first a word as to its name.

Sir William Napier writes of Peer Arres:(7), Rice Holmes, Pir Awes:(8) Sir Patrick Cadell, Pir Ares. Fortescue escapes the difficulty by making no mention of the action in his chapter on the War in Sind.(9)

Having more than once visited the site, I can affirm that the name of the place is as given in this paper: the revenue map of the District shows it correctly. The final Sappended to their various combinations of letters by previous authors, originated simply in an error in transcription, probably of Roberts' actual despatch. The manuscript of the subsidiary casualty roll seems to have been clearer: for it was printed with the name correctly rendered, according to the spelling of the time, as Peer Aaree. (10).

The locality remains unaltered in all essentials by the passage of one hundred years. A grove of fine trees mingled with dense undergrowth, still covers the grave yard, and is still surrounded by "an almost impenetrable hedge." Just to the south of it, may be seen the rough graves of the Balochis killed in Walter's charge.

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7. Conquest p. 432.
8. Rice Holmes, p. 95.
9. His. of Brit. Army Vol. XII, Chapt. XXX.
10. S. I. H. Records, Vol, I. p. 43.

The grove is watered from a stream flowing from a hot spring in the low hills to the westward, which irrigates on its way lands owned by the Rind tribe. Here the traveller Masson camped with a kafila of merchants on their way from Kalat to Karachi in 1830. (11)

As to the subsequent history of the Units which took part in the engagement, the 6th and 15th Bombay Native Infantry were disbanded in 1882. The 20th is still with us, as the 2nd battalion (Prince of Wales' Own) 6th Rajputana Rifles. The 3rd Company 1st Battalion Bombay Foot Artillery has become the 30th Field Battery, R.A.

Pir Ari was of course too trifling an affair to be made a battle honour; and I have not ascertained whether the troops which took part in it received the Sind Medal. But Napier rightly made it clear, in his Farewell Orders, on the departure of the 20th, 15th and 6th Bombay Native Infantry from the province, in the course of 1844, that they were to be reckoned among the Conquerors of Sind.

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11. Mason Vol. II, p. 148.

IV—SHAHDADPUR.

On June 1st, 1843, Napier's plans for the reduction of Mir Sher Mahomed were complete, after a month's preparation; they resembled on a small scale, the wide-flung net that Lord Moira spread for the rounding up of the Pindaris in 1817. The Mir was somewhat in the area between Sakrand and Kuhera* on the north, and Hala and Shahdadpur on the south; generally keeping not far from the Indus, to the other side of which his family had been evacuated under the care of his brother.

Napier's first care was to secure the river, by patrolling it with the armed steamers of the Indian Navy: not that Sher Mahomed was in a mood to escape to the right bank, but as long as he remained unsubdued, the tribes on that side were likely to cross to join him. We have seen how efficiently the Indian Navy performed its task.

Next, Napier had to provide against the Mir's retreating to the northward: and for this purpose Colonel Roberts was to cross the river opposite Sehwan, while Mir Ali Murad with his own forces operated somewhat further inland, both to move southward.

The General was even more concerned lest Sher Mahomed should break through to the south. He possessed considerable territories in the Delta of the Indus, and this region was so far quite unsubdued. Towards the end of April, Jacob had on his own initiative advanced with a squadron of his regiment from Mirpur to quell insurgents in the neighbourhood of Naukot, but had been recalled by an express from the General after making two marches. (1)

A similar movement of Police down the Indus without orders a month later had caused the General further vexation, for they had been attacked by the Balochis and lost six men killed. He wrote "We had no business to poke our noses into this southern district of Meerpoor||, all around which I had made friendly by negotiation—it was thus isolated and sure to fall without a life lost when Sher Mahomed is crushed. This disagreeable event has, or may, injure my plans much." (2)

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* This place is a little to the west of Shahpur Chakar.
1. S. I. H. Records, Vol. I. p. 36.
2. Life, II, p. 383.
||. Mirpur Bathoro.

Napier reserved for himself the task of preventing the Mir, when pressed from the north, passing down southward "to establish himself in the marshes of the Poorana river, whence it would be no easy job to dislodge him, even in cold weather."

The last possibility was that Sher Mahomed might escape into the desert, north of the line Hyderabad—Tando Allahyar-Mirpur-Umarkot. The General could congratulate himself that he held the latter and had destroyed Kot Imamgarh, another place of refuge: but there remained Shahgarh, still held by adherents of Mir Mahomed Hussein, Rustom's son: and it was essential to prevent Sher Mahomed from gaining the desert at all. For this John Jacob was made responsible.

Jacob had been left by Sir Charles to hold down the country east of Hyderabad, with Headquarters at Mirpur and detachments at Umarkot and Tando Allahyar. He was now cast for an offensive role, which the General communicated to him on the second of June; four companies of Infantry were to be sent to enable him to make a demonstration in Sher Mahomed's rear. Napier was concerned at the fearful heat; he had already been prostrated himself, and the troops in Hyderabad were suffering. What of those in the outposts--could not Jacob thatch his tents? Jacob wrote back cheerfully. "We have no tents to thatch except a few belonging to some of the Native Officers, but I doubt not but that we shall weather it out." He would be able to make a most effective demonstration against Sher Mahomed from Mirpur; if the General would give him two guns, besides the four companies of infantry he had suggested, the Mir's people would consider the force an army. Meanwhile he had heard that some of that Prince's agents, with a body of horsemen, were collecting men and grain some 25 miles to the north of Mirpur.

On the 4th June, Napier noticed the beginning of the monsoon wind, which encouraged him to move: this date also marked the expiry of his ultimatum to Sher Mahomed. He wrote to Jacob.

"You shall have two six-pounders, they and the four companies of infantry march this evening, and will be with you on the 7th; and on the 8th I wish you to march in the direction of Kohera, or Koonhera or whatever that rendezvous of the Ameer is called. My reason is this—Colonel Roberts will have the steamers and boats at Sehwan this evening—I think he will cross the river by the 7th bodily, and land somewhere north of Sukkurund (say Doom), and I shall desire him to march against

Sher Mahomed on the 8th if he is able to fight him. On the same day (8th) I shall push the 8th Native Infantry towards Aliar ke Tanda, to prevent Shere Mahomed crossing our line and getting down to the south—on the 9th I will move by the north east through Dubba towards Shah-i-Kaut, which is east of Muttaree, the 8th Native Infantry doing the same to join me: by this I shall be able perhaps to block him to the south, and you will act as you find best on the east." Napier was anxious lest the movements of his troops should produce merely a dispersion of those of the Mir—"which is his game if he knows how to play it. I would much rather see him with 40,000 men in one point. I like this fellow for his resolute resistance: I will give him safe conduct if he will come and see me."

Meanwhile intelligence as to Sher Mahomed's movements was perplexing; Napier heard he was making a demonstration towards the south, and halted the infantry and guns at Tando Allahyar, on their way to join Jacob, to whom he wrote on June 6th "Do you also remain quiet till you hear from me. I want to see my board a little more clearly before I attack Sher Mahomed: it is no joke hunting him in this weather. I shall wait till I hear from Roberts that he is fairly across the river and on our side. Should anything you hear make you think it right to move, I leave the doing so to your own discretion, but in that case send to let me know as rapidly as you can. Every account I can get seems to say he has 1,200 people but not above 800 of these are fighting men."

This estimate fell far short of the reality. Jacob knew for certain that 300 men had left Mirpur to join the Mir, and there was talk of five thousand with four guns proceeding to Sakrand. (3) The tale of 2,000 men at Nasarpur however proved to be false, and Napier gave orders for the guns and infantry to proceed. On the 9th they joined Jacob at Mirpur; four companies of sepoys and two guns, under the command of Lieutenant Sir Francis Ford, Bart., of the 20th Bombay N.I., the whole being placed under Jacob's orders.

The information now was that Sher Mahomed was at Hala: and in a letter telling Jacob that he might now advance, Napier speculates on the reasons for his clinging to the river, and his probable reaction to the movement of the forces drawing in upon him. Jacob must prevent the Mir from escaping into the desert, from which he and his men might disperse and assemble elsewhere.

3. Outram Commentary p. 448, (foot note).

Before this letter was despatched Napier was able to add the welcome news of Colonel Roberts' exploit at Pir Ari: which arrived in a steamer bringing down Mir Shah Mahomed. He closed the letter "Roberts will be across this evening and will bother brother Shere, I suspect..... between you and Roberts, Shere Mahomed has a good chance of being picked up." In his journal he wrote: "His great object is to cross the Indus to his family, and he will not quit the water for two days; and then probably try to negotiate with Ali Moorad, who has my orders to keep him in play. I have every hope therefore of Jacob getting two day's start."

Jacob marched from Mirpur on the night of the 10th, and Napier spent the next two days passing his own force over the Fuleli, which was now carrying a strong stream. He wrote: "However it is necessary for me to be a day or two in arrears or the Lion would bolt into his den before Roberts or Jacob could reach him. I now leave him quiet to *mamock* Ali Moorad, if he can: it will do Ali good thus to pull down his vanity. It is said the Lion has shut him up in the fort of Sukkurunda without any grub: I hope he will not get out until half-starved. Ali assured me, when I told him to be cautious as Shere Mahomed was too strong, that he would capture or treat with him as I wished: that he could kill him, or make him prisoner, according to my wishes—anything I liked! If my own arrangements were not so far in blossom, Shere Mahomed should be left to thrash him for his vanity."

On the 13th, Jacob arrived at Shahdadpur with his force. According to information received by Napier that day, Sher Mahomed had moved south to Shah-i-Khaut, east of Matiari, and that evening Napier marched out to Nasarpur hoping to encounter him and end the war at a blow. Jacob's information was that the Mir had moved to a fort called Oocleyra, some 16-17 miles south east of Hala. Meanwhile the General's nephew, William Napier, wrote to him—"You have Sir Charles' permission to rob, murder, steal, hang and anything else to procure carriage; you may do anything if you can but catch Shere Mahomed: do this, and all your crimes will be pardoned. Roberts is at Sukkurund today or tomorrow. By tomorrow night you will be not far from Koheran. Shere Mahomed's followers have mostly abandoned him and he will try to bolt to the desert. He fears the river and Koheran, and I don't think he will venture South." Jacob assumed that the Mir's movement southwards

might well be the result of Roberts crossing the river in his rear; he had heard nothing from that Officer, but Shahdadpur seemed the best position from which to intercept the Mir should he move eastward.

He was not mistaken. At 11 p.m. on the 13th June a Brahmin servant of Sher Mahomed came into his camp and told Jacob that his master was on the march to attack him with his whole force amounting, as he said, to 8,000 or 10,000 men. Jacob pushed his picquets forward, and about 3 a.m. they sent back word that the enemy was coming on in considerable force. He sent several parties to reconnoitre, and finding that the Balochis advanced very slowly, determined to attack them. Leaving a troop of the Scinde Horse and a company of Infantry to protect the camp, he marched with the remainder, about 800 men of all arms.

The Baloch Lashkar on becoming aware of his advance halted and formed on the bank of a nullah, horse, foot and artillery, in imposing numbers, and opened fire on Jacob's column with three guns: he in turn formed his line and replied with his artillery. Every movement on the powdery white soil raised volumes of dust; Sher Mahomed and his subordinate leaders seem to have lost contact with each other, and somehow a rumour spread that another British force was about to attack them in flank. A sudden panic seized the Balochis, who broke their ranks and began to withdraw from their position. Jacob seeing their irresolution advanced with the Scinde Horse, whereupon they dispersed and fled in every direction. The ground in their front was extremely rugged, intersected with deep ravines which prevented a charge by the time Jacob had found a way across these obstacles the Mir and his men were well on their way to safety, and among the jungle sandhills and canals running full of water effective pursuit was impracticable: but a few prisoners were taken.

The victory was all but bloodless: five or six Balochis had been killed by Jacob's artillery fire, and two of his horses by theirs. But the Mir left on the field several standards, and three well-equipped brass guns. The prisoners stated the number of their force actually present as 4,000, the remainder, with another gun, having remained behind or deserted. Among their Sardars were Mir Khan Mahomed, Sher Mahomed's younger brother: Mir Mahomed son of Mir Rustom Khan; and a brother in law of Mir Nasir Khan; proof enough that in this last attempt had lain the hopes of the Talpur race.

In his despatch Jacob added that Sher Mahomed had fled with ten horsemen in the direction of the river, and that he would attempt to cross it to reach his family in Rani Kot, and not fly to the desert without them. But in fact, the Mir seems to have fled to the Northward, for Roberts had not been able to cross the river to take part in the hunt. His force was in great distress owing to the appalling heat, and remained at Sehwan. The General, too, had intended to push on to Jacob's assistance with his cavalry and artillery, but on the morning of the 15th he was himself incapacitated by heat-stroke. He was lying half conscious when Jacob's despatch arrived and this, in the words of his nephew William Napier, "did him as much good as Doctor Gibbon."

H.M.'s 28th Regiment, which formed part of his force, had meanwhile lost one officer and twenty one men dead from heat apoplexy, and eleven more died at Hyderabad. Thither Napier was carried in a palanquin, after recalling the whole of the force with which he had advanced. His recovery was rapid, and William Napier wrote to Jacob again "Your defeat of Shere Mahomed cured him."

In his despatch, Jacob had observed: "The conduct of all officers and men under my command has been most steady and excellent throughout, but in an action such as that of this morning there is no room for the display of much military prowess." But Napier recognized the value of the stroke at such a time. Mir Ali Murad's attitude had begun to arouse his suspicions, and no one knew better than himself that regular troops could not keep the field much longer without fearful losses from the heat. Three weeks later, when Jacob arrived in Hyderabad, after capturing two more of Sher Mahomed's guns, the General told him that at Shahdadpur he had prevented a Pindari war in Sind.(4)

OBSERVATIONS.

The only first-hand account of the affair of Shahdadpur other than Jacob's despatch, is that of Mir Khan Mahomed, who shortly afterwards surrendered to Napier. The General asked him why they had not made a better fight of it, as they had twice opposed him stoutly. (5)Khan Mahomed replied: "Why, General, it is just because you did fight us twice that we did not like the third time, we are afraid of you. But to tell you the

4. Jacob's notes on Sir W. Napier's 'Administration ofScinde'.
5. Life, II, p. 413.

truth I knew as little of Jacob's fight as you do. I commanded the right wing, the Ameer the left; he had the guns and I nearly all the cavalry; it was hardly light when I heard the Lion's guns and thought Jacob was upon him, as nothing could be distinguished in my front, therefore I rode full gallop expecting to charge Jacob's fland. You know our horrible dust, I thought I was followed, but when I reached the Ameer he was almost alone; then the dust cleared up and behold only twenty five rascals had followed me. Had Jacob been there I should have been killed for all had run under cover of the dust: so the Lion and I ran too, that is all I know of the battle."

The scene of the encounter is a little to the north west of the town of Shahdadpur, and presents much the same appearance now as it did a century ago, the ground being much broken and covered with sand hills. A dhoro, or bed of an old branch of the Indus and the pre-Barrage Marakh canal, which bifurcates close by, were probably the nullah and other obstacles mentioned by Jacob.

Shahdadpur, where the downfall of the Talpurs was thus consummated, had been the cradle of their power, and owes its name to the head of their House, who is buried not far away.

Mir Sher Mahomed's route after his discomfiture is still a matter for conjecture. Rathborne was informed that he had in fact doubled back to the desert(6), on finding that the Indus was too well guarded by the Indian Navy.

Maulvi Abdullah Laghari, of Sanghar, whom I questioned on the subject, says that Sher Mahomed did in fact take refuge with the remnant of his men in the desert; and that if rain had not fallen they would have perished. They worked their way gradually northward to the Registan of Mirpur Mathelo, and eventually crossed the Indus near Ghotki and entered the hills.

For some years Sher Mahomed remained in the Marri country inciting the predatory tribes to harass the Sind border: later he sent his sword to Napier, but would not surrender himself. For years he remained the hope of the diminishing party of irreconcilables, like Bonnie Prince Charlie to the Jacobites: the "Manghanhars" sang that God would grant him the turban of Sind, and on the walls of the mosque at Wateji Richard Burton noted the couplet scrawled by a patriotic "unemployed."—

6. S. I. H. Records, Vol. I. p. 44.

"O Shere Mahomed, turn the reins of thy steed towards Scinde,

And with one flash of thy brand consume 'Nupeer'." (7)

It remains to say something of the campaign as a whole. Napier was much censured at the time for persisting in his "wild goose chase" against Sher Mahomed in the height of the hot weather, which cost so many lives. But the best answer to these critics was the complete success of his operations. Once he was committed to a war with Sher Mahomed, to have quitted the field leaving the Mir with ten thousand men and some useful artillery intact, would have postponed the pacification of the country by six months at least. The most that might be urged is that Napier was unduly cautious, and slow in preparing the combination of converging Forces between which Sher Mahomed's power was finally broken. It must be admitted, incidently, as pointed out by Commander Merriman, (8) that Napier never duly acknowledged the contribution of the Indian Navy to his success. There are many who have been disgusted with William Napier's extravagant eulogies of his brother's skill, energy and foresight; they may point to the lack of military qualities, other than courage in actual combat, among the Balochis, in view of which Napier's elaborate calculation and co-ordination were uncalled for. His operations were, in fact, such that they would have accounted for a more formidable enemy—no bad criterion for generalship!

We may accept the conclusion of Sheppard, that Napier's fame as a general may well be left to rest on this "little masterpiece of War."

H. T. LAMBRICK.

Hyderabad.
7th August 1943.

7. Scinde or the Unhappy Valley, p. 80.
8. Journal Sind Historical Society, Vol. VI. No 3.

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